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Handbook of the Seneca Language

BY

WALLACE L. CHAFE

Temporary Scientist

Anthropological Survey

New York State Museum and Science Service



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HANDBOOK OF THE SENECA LANGUAGE

By

Wallace L. Chafe*

Introduction

This work is intended as a practical guide to the Seneca language for those with no linguistic training and for those who are to some degree familiar with linguistic concepts and terminology, but to whom the field is not a specialty. Widespread interest in the Seneca Indians was stimulated during the infancy of scientific anthropology by Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, originally published in 1851, and this interest continues to this day among a large group of scholars, both professional and amateur. The language is always a point of concern, and a number of people have expressed the need for a book of this nature. The author is grateful to William N. Fenton, Assistant Commissioner for the New York State Museum and Science Service, and to many individuals on the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda reservations in New York for their indispensable assistance. Edgar M. Reilly, Jr., and Stanley J. Smith, both of the New York State Museum, provided most of the zoological and botanical scientific names, and both the latter and Elisabeth J. Tooker made useful suggestions with regard to the text.

The book consists of three parts. Section I, on orthography, describes a way of writing Seneca words consistently and without omitting features that are significant. Various spelling systems have been used, and are being used, for the writing of Seneca by missionaries, anthropologists, and the speakers of the language themselves. Everyone has his own system, although most orthographies used by the Seneca themselves can be traced to missionary origins in the 19th century. Among anthropologists, from Morgan to Fenton, there has been practically no standardization at all. Both Morgan and Parker, two of the most prolific writers on the Seneca, were extremely poor phoneticians, and their transcriptions of Seneca words are far from satisfac-

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tory. The aim of section I is to promote an accurate, consistent, and standardized way of writing Seneca terms for all who may have occasion to do so.

Section II, on grammar, is concerned with the structure of Seneca words. It is no more than an outline of a highly complex subject. Those who wish to pursue the subject further are referred to the author's more technical publication, *Seneca Morphology*.¹

No claim is made for the completeness of section III, the glossary. It is not intended as a Seneca dictionary. The basis on which items have been included is their past occurrence or the likelihood of their future occurrence in the anthropological literature. Even today, Seneca culture is rich and many-sided, and the author cannot claim to have had contact with all its facets nor to have examined thoroughly all that has been written about it. The terminology relating to the Iroquois Confederacy may be particularly incomplete. Vocabulary peculiar to the Christian community and the Seneca Nation's government has been almost wholly neglected. It is hoped that the section on orthography will permit accurate transcription of whatever terms are not included.

¹ See Bibliography.

I. Orthography

“Almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them in a peculiar manner.” (Jonathan Edwards, 1788)

This section provides the information that is needed to write individual Seneca words, and it is assumed that this will be the primary interest of the users of this book. For the writing of sentences and longer pieces of text, thoroughness would demand the marking of certain other features—for example, pitch contours and pauses—which are not introduced here. It is suggested that this section will be most valuable if it is reviewed systematically with the help of a native speaker of Seneca, who can be asked to pronounce the examples given, repeating them as often as necessary. An attempt has been made to provide forms that can be easily elicited by means of the English translations: by asking such questions as “How do you say . . . ?” The glossary provides abundant further material for practice.

Writing has as its purpose the representation of the spoken language. The system of writing used for English is notoriously lacking in consistency. On the one hand, a single spelling, like *read*, may stand for more than one pronunciation, while, on the other hand, the same pronunciation may be represented by several different spellings, as in the case of *to*, *too*, and *two*. Our spelling conventions are interwoven with related traditions and are not readily subject to change; one needs only to think of the millions of books now in existence. But with a language that does not have a long written history—and most of the world’s languages belong in this category—one clearly should take advantage of the opportunity for consistent representation of its sounds. In the last quarter century, linguistic science has made great strides in understanding the nature of linguistic sound systems, and hence in providing the basis for satisfactory writing systems. The crucial consideration is to symbolize only and all the sound distinctions which are used in the language to distinguish meanings. For example, Seneca has a sound which seems to us to be like English *k*, and another which seems like *g*. Nowhere, however, does Seneca distinguish words of different meaning by the difference between these two sounds, a difference

in "voicing"; that is, the lack or presence of vibration in the vocal chords. The *k* and *g* sounds differ only in regard to voicing, and its lack or presence is entirely determined by the surrounding sounds in a particular word. The difference between *k* and *g* is thus not distinctive, and linguists call them members of the same phoneme. The spelling system presented here utilizes one symbol for each phoneme. Thus for any spoken word there is only one possible spelling, and for any spelling there is only one possible spoken equivalent. What symbols are used is not so important as how they are used; *k* was chosen for the phoneme described above. Four symbols used here, the acute accent mark ('), the symbol ? (the top part of a question mark), and the vowel symbols ε and ɔ are not present on a standard typewriter. In typing they can be written in by hand, or other symbols can be substituted for them.

It is impossible to compare accurately the sounds of one language with those of another; but, since the orientation of this book precludes technical phonetic descriptions, comparison with familiar languages is the only available means of conveying an idea of the sounds discussed. Some of the sounds and symbols are more easily relatable to German than to English, and readers who have some familiarity with German may be helped by the comparisons with that language. However, nothing can substitute for listening to the Seneca words from the lips of a native speaker.

Seneca has a relatively small number of phonemes, as languages go, and its words can be written by using 16 letters plus the colon (:) and the acute accent mark. The letters used to represent the vowels are *a*, ä, *e*, ε, *i*, *o*, and ɔ. The consonants are represented by *h*, *j*, *k*, *n*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, and ?.

The colon is used to represent lengthening (increased duration) of the preceding vowel; compare the length of the vowels in *wis* 'five', *kawə:ni:s* 'a long word', *kawəni:sɔ:s* 'long words'. Between two vowels, however, it indicates a lengthening of the whole vowel sequence. Thus, *a:ε* has two vowels of equivalent length, but each is one and a half times as long as the vowels in *ae*; compare *waε?* 'he said it,' *wa:ε?* 'he put it in it.' It may also occur between two identical vowels; for example, *kaka:a?* 'story, tale,' where the *a:a* is three times as long as the first *a*.

The accent mark indicates a greater degree of loudness, usually accompanied by a relatively higher pitch, on the vowel

over which it is written; compare wá:ε? 'he put it on it,' kaká:? 'its eye' with wa:ε?, kaka:a? just cited.

As can be seen from the examples, not all words contain either vowel length or the accent. While a word may contain more than one long vowel, however, no word in isolation ever contains more than one accent. One other generalization that it is well to keep in mind is that no word spoken by itself (outside of a longer sentence) begins with a vowel or ends with either a vowel or **n**, **w**, or **y**. The reader may find difficulty in recognizing ? at the beginning of words that may seem to start with a vowel and in identifying ? and **h** at the ends of words. The final **t** and **k** after ε and ɔ may also cause trouble. These points are discussed below in connection with each phoneme.

The Vowels

The letters **a**, **e**, **i**, and **o**, with certain exceptions described below, represent approximately the same sounds as do these letters in the writing of German long vowels; for example, as in German *Hahn* 'rooster,' *zehn* 'ten,' *ihn* 'him,' and *Sohn* 'son.' The sound represented by ä is roughly like that of *a* in English *man*. Disregarding the other letters for the moment, note the sound of *a* in *ska:t* 'one,' *wahta?* 'maple.'

ä in *ká:hkwa:?* sun or moon, ?o?ká?the? 'I climbed'
 e in ?i:ke:t 'I'm standing,' ?i:ke? 'I'm walking, going'
 i in *tekhnih*:h 'two,' *wis* 'five'
 o in *hakso:t* 'my grandfather,' ?onó?ja? 'tooth'

The vowels written **a**, **ä**, **e**, and **o** have a somewhat different sound when they are immediately followed by **i**, **j**, **k**, **s**, or **t** (but not with an intervening :; that is, not when they are long). In this case,

a sounds roughly like the *u* in English *hut*: note the second **a** in *ja:tak* 'seven,' the **a** in *kyethwas* 'I plant'
 ä sounds roughly like the *e* in English *met*: note the ä in ?o?khät 'I passed by,' *so:wäk* 'duck'
 e sounds roughly like the *i* in English *hit*: note the first **e** in *sneké:äh* 'take a drink!', the **e** in *testas* 'stand it up!'
 o sounds roughly like the *u* in English *put*: note the second **o** in ?o:nekanos 'water,' the **o** in ?óiwa? 'cause, matter, word'

Two vowels have not yet been considered: the nasalized vowels written ε and ɔ. The former sounds something like the French

nasalized vowel in *bien*, while the latter sounds roughly like the vowel of English *dawn* pronounced through the nose. Note the sound of

ɛ in *washɛ:h* 'ten,' seh 'three'

ɔ in *tyohto:h* 'nine,' tekyɔ? 'eight'

both vowels in *kejoh* 'fish,' ?onéɔ? 'corn'

The vowel a is also nasalized when it occurs just before ɛ or ɔ; note its sound in *waɛ?* 'he said it,' ká:htə?keh 'on my ear.'

The Consonants

The letters n, w, and y represent sounds approximately the same as those which they commonly represent in English spelling. Note the sound of

n in *niwá?a:h* 'how small it is,' ?onónɔ?ta? 'potato'

w in *wis* 'five,' ?osno:we? 'it's fast, speedy'

y in *ye:i?* 'six,' kanyáhtɛ:h 'snapping turtle'

The combinations sy, ty, and thy are discussed separately below.

The sound represented by s, except in the combination sy and directly before a vowel, is also like that commonly associated with the same letter in English. Before a vowel, s has a more relaxed articulation which is apt to sound like z to English-speaking listeners, particularly between two vowels. Note the s in *ska:t* 'one,' *washɛ:h* 'ten,' *kanjhse:s* 'longhouse,' *wasa:se?* 'war dance.' When the combination ts occurs before i, the tongue is closer to the palate, yielding a sound somewhat like the ch in English *cheer*; for example, *we:nítsi:yo:h* 'beautiful day,' *tsi?tyɔ?* 'you stay there' (but see thy below).

The letter k represents a sound about like that spelled k in English as long as it is followed by h, s, t, or ?. Otherwise—that is, before w, y, or a vowel (it never occurs before n, j, or another k)—k represents a sound like that written g in English *good*. Note the k in *hakso:t* 'my grandfather,' *ktakhe?* 'I'm running,' *niwák?a:h* 'how short it is,' *ja:tak* 'seven,' *kwa:yɔ?:* 'rabbit,' *kyashe?* 'I'm lying,' *kekóta?keh* 'on my nose.' At the end of a word after a nasalized vowel, k may sound as if it is preceded or even replaced by a sound like that at the end of English *song*; note *hatɔ:k* 'he used to say it.'

Analogously, the letter t represents a sound like that of the same letter in English, when it is followed by h, k, s, or ?. Otherwise, that is, before n, w, y, or a vowel—it occurs before n only

in the word *?óätne?ta?* 'fern,' never before *j* or another *t*—*t* represents a sound like that written *d* in English. Note *t* in *?ó?kátkatho?* 'I looked at it,' *we:nítsi:yo:h* 'beautiful day,' *?o?nót?ah* (the name of the third month), *ska:t* 'one,' *tetwa:t* 'we'll dance,' *teotitá?oh* 'they have stood up.' At the end of a word after a nasalized vowel, *t* often sounds like an *n* that is abruptly cut off; note *?o?kyet* 'I hit it,' *?ohsikwést* 'rattlesnake' (note that *n* never occurs at the end of a word).

The letter *j* represents a sound similar to that written *dz* in the English word *adze*; note the *j* in *ke:jh* 'fish,' *jo?ä:ka?* 'racoon.' Before *i* the tongue is closer to the palate, yielding a sound that English-speaking listeners may be apt to interpret as the sound represented by *j* in English *jeer* (but see *ty* below); note the *j* in *kají:sta?* 'light, glow, ember,' *ji:yäh* 'dog.'

The sound written *h* is quite similar to the sound written with that letter in English, but occurs in positions where it does not occur in English: notably after a vowel, at the end of a word, and before *n*. Note *h* in *hata:khe?* 'he's running,' *kahóka:t* 'doorway,' *wahta?* 'maple,' *seh* 'three,' *washe:h* 'ten,' *?ohnékaht-é:tyo:h* 'the water is flowing.' No word spoken in isolation ends in a vowel, and words that may seem to end in one have in reality either a final *h*, if the vowel gradually trails off through a whisper, or a final *?*, if the vowel ends abruptly.

The glottal stop, written *?*, is used by English speakers in the middle of expressions like *uh uh* (meaning 'no!') and for the sound represented by the *t*'s in *button*, *bottle*, *Fenton*. In German, the same sound can be observed between the *e* and *a* of *Beamter* 'official,' between the *r* and *e* of *Verein* 'club,' and at the beginning of *eins* 'one.' In Seneca, it occurs in positions where it does not ordinarily occur in either English or German. Note *?* in *?o?éohta?* 'plant,' *ke?nyá?keh* 'on my finger,' *?akyé?his* 'I make mistakes,' *ka?hnya?* 'stick, club,' *niwák?a:h* 'how short it is.' No word spoken in isolation begins with a vowel, and words that may seem to begin with one have in reality an initial *?*.

Several combinations of consonants, specifically *sy*, *ty*, and *thy*, require special comment. In all three of these, the *y* is pronounced with the tongue very close to the palate, producing a fricative (hissing or buzzing) sound.

The sound of the *s* in *sy* is similar to that usually spelled *sh* in English (for example, in *show*), so that the combination *sy* sounds more or less like what is spelled *-sh y-* in *wash yourself*. Note its sound in *ka?ta:syo:t* 'Stomp Dance.'

The combination **ty**, in which the **t** has a sound like English *d*, is apt to sound to English-speaking listeners like what is written *j* in English. Note its sound in **tyó:yaik** 'robin,' **satyε:h** 'sit down!' Careful listening may sometimes be necessary to distinguish it from the Seneca sound written *j*, which always sounds more like *dz*; compare the two words above with **je:stá?ε:?** 'black,' **tajóh** 'come in!.' If a *j*-like sound occurs before *i*, it should always be written *j* (see above); **ty** never occurs before *i*.

The combination **thy** is apt to sound like the sound written *ch* in English *choose*. The **hy** of the **thy** combination actually has a sound similar to that which ends the German word *ich* 'I.' Note the sound of **thy** in **hothyo:wi:h** 'he has told about it,' **?o?thya:ta?t** 'they (two men) stood up.' If a *ch*-like sound occurs before *i*, it should always be written *ts* (see above); **thy** never occurs before *i*.

To summarize the points of comparison with English that the reader may find useful to keep in mind in writing consonants:

For what sounds like English

Write Seneca

<i>n</i> (not word-final after Seneca ε or ɔ)	n
<i>w</i>	w
<i>y</i>	y
<i>s, z</i>	s
<i>ch</i> (before Seneca i)	ts
<i>k, g, ng</i> (if the <i>ng</i> is word-final after Seneca ε or ɔ)	k
<i>t, d, n</i> (if the <i>n</i> is word-final after Seneca ε or ɔ)	t
<i>dz, j</i> (if the <i>j</i> is before Seneca i)	j
<i>h</i>	h
glottal stop	?
<i>sh-y</i>	sy
<i>j</i> (not before Seneca i)	ty
<i>ch</i> (not before Seneca i)	thy

There are a few Seneca nicknames in which the letters **b** or **m** must be used: **kó?bit**, **takam**. The letter **u**, representing a sound something like that in German *Huhn* 'hen,' is necessary only in words that refer to something tiny: **niwú?u:h** 'it's tiny.'

II. Grammar

“Dans leur langue, presque tout est verbe. . . .”
(J. A. Cuoq, 1866)

This section is concerned exclusively with the structure of words; no attention is given to the arrangement of words in sentences. Seneca words are complex—most must be translated by an English phrase or sentence—and even this limited aspect of the grammar can be presented only in its broad outlines if we are to maintain the simplicity that is one of the aims of this book.

It will be helpful at the outset to introduce one or two technical linguistic concepts. The very fact that this section discusses the analysis of words implies that words are not the smallest meaningful units of speech. The smallest units, the irreducible meaningful constituents of language, are termed morphemes. Morphemes are in turn represented by phonemes, the distinctive speech sounds introduced in section I. The English word *unnecessarily* contains three morphemes: *un-* “not,” *-necessari-* “needful,” and *-ly*, which adds an adverbial meaning to the preceding.

It may be noted that what is represented in this word by the spelling *-necessari-* is differently spoken (as well as written) in the single morpheme word *necessary*. The stresses are different, as is the sound following the *r*. These two variants are called different allomorphs of the same morpheme. There are Seneca morphemes that have 10 or more allomorphs, some of which bear no resemblance to others which nevertheless belong to the same morpheme. Which allomorph occurs in a particular word is determined by the neighboring morphemes in that word. In some environments, some morphemes occur in a zero allomorph, symbolized by *ø*.

Variation in the occurrence and position of vowel length (:) and accent (') will be found to occur within many morphemes. Such variation is dependent upon position within a word, as well as a number of other complex factors, and cannot be further accounted for here.

Seneca has three kinds of words or parts of speech, distin

guished by their function within sentences, as well as by their internal structure. They are particles, nouns, and verbs, and will be taken up in that order.

Particles

The particles are predominantly words of one or two morphemes, and there is consequently little or nothing to be said concerning their internal structure. Some of the most common particles include:

háe?kwah 'also'

ha?kwíste? 'something, anything'

heh 'where'

hetkéh 'up in the air'

he:noh 'don't!'

hé:óweh 'where'

he?eh 'no'

hi:ke:h 'this one, that one, he, she, it'

ka:o? 'in this direction'

ka:weh 'where?'

kaekwah 'very'

kes 'repeatedly'

kwa? 'completely, to an extreme'

kwiste? 'anything'

kyó?oh 'it is said'

naeh (or nä:h) intensifies meaning

neh 'the; it, this'

ne? 'it is, this is'

ne:wa? 'this time'

ne?hoh 'there, that there'

ne:h 'this'

ne:tah 'this'

no:h 'probably'

no?we?:? 'while'

se:noh 'don't!'

se?eh 'because'

shó:h 'only, just'

sih 'there'

ske:nó? 'good, well, OK'

so:ka?:? 'somebody'

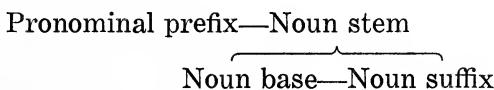
ta:h 'and' (sentence connective)

tá:?kwiste? 'nothing'

te?kátka?hoh 'nowhere'
 te?we:tóh 'never'
 te?eh 'what?'
 the:té? 'yesterday'
 tih 'at this point, then'
 to:kes 'in fact, yes'
 waih 'indeed'
 wáye?: 'isn't it so?'
 we:sh 'far'
 ya:é? 'first'
 ?á:ho?óh 'most'
 ?akwas 'everywhere, wherever'
 ?asteh 'outside, outdoors'
 ?áti?kwah 'if, whether'
 ?e?: 'yes'
 ?i:s 'you'
 ?i:wi:h 'I think'
 ?i:? 'I, we, us'
 ?ónéhjih 'a long time ago'
 ?o:neh 'now, at the time'
 ?ókyeh 'inside, indoors'

Nouns

There are a few nouns which cannot be analyzed into more than one morpheme; for example, *kiskwi:s* 'pig,' *sko?ák* 'frog.' With the exception of these and the elliptical nouns mentioned on page 13, every noun consists of a noun stem preceded by a pronominal prefix. The stem consists in turn of a noun base followed by a noun suffix, so that the relationship between the constituents can be diagrammed as follows:



The three noun suffixes are *-?* (sometimes *-h*), whose meaning is simply to indicate that the word functions as a noun, *-?keh* (sometimes *-:neh*) meaning 'on' or 'at,' and *-kó:h*, 'in' or 'under.' Their use can be illustrated with the noun base *-óshä-* 'box' and the neuter pronominal prefix *ka-:* *káóshä?* 'a box,' *káóshä?keh* 'on a box,' *káóshä?óh* 'in a box.'

Many of the pronominal prefixes consist of several morphemes, but they are not further analyzed here. There are two

sets of pronominal prefixes that occur with noun stems. For reasons that will become clear in the discussion of the verb below, one set is called subjective and the other objective. In general, the subjective prefixes occur only with noun stems that designate things like body parts, the possession of which is inalienable. They are illustrated below with the stem -ahsi?ta? 'foot':

1. k- or ke- 'my' ; kahsi?ta? 'my foot'
2. s-, se-, or j- 'your' ; sahsí?ta? 'your foot'
3. ha-, he-, or h- 'his' ; hahsi?ta? 'his foot'
4. ye-, yε-, yo, or yak- 'her or people's' ; yɔhsí?ta? 'her foot' or 'people's feet'
5. ka-, kε-, k-, w-, or y- 'its' ; wahsi?ta? 'its foot'
6. ?akhni-, ?akhny-, ?akhn-, ?aki-, or ?aky- 'our' (*exclusive dual; there are two of us, and you are not included*) ; ?akhnyáhsí?ta? 'our feet'
7. hni-, hny-, hn-, ti-, or ty- 'our' (*inclusive dual; you are included, yours and mine*) hnyahsi?ta? 'our feet'
8. sni-, sny-, or sn- 'your' (*dual*) ; snyahsi?ta? 'your feet'
9. hni-, hny-, hn-, hi-, or hy- 'their' (*masculine dual; including at least one man*) ; hnyahsi?ta? 'their feet'
10. khni-, khny-, khn-, ki-, or ky- 'their' (*nonmasculine dual; including no men*) ; khnyahsi?ta? 'their feet'
11. ?akwa-, ?akwε-, ?akw-, or ?aky- 'our' (*exclusive plural; three or more*) ; ?akwáhsí?ta? 'our feet'
12. twa-, twε-, tw-, or ty- 'our' (*inclusive plural*) ; twahsi?ta? 'our feet'
13. swa-, swe-, sw-, or j- 'your' (*plural*) ; swahsi?ta? 'your feet'
14. hati- or hen- 'their' (*masculine plural*) ; hénóhsí?ta? 'their feet'
15. wati- or wən- 'their' (*nonmasculine plural*) ; wənóhsí?ta? 'their feet'

Other noun stems take the objective prefixes, of which there are fewer because of the coalescence of the exclusive and inclusive categories and the lack of a dual-plural distinction in the third person. The objective prefixes are illustrated below with the stem -?nɔ? 'arrow':

16. ?ak- or ake- 'my' ; ?aké?nɔ? 'my arrow'
17. sa-, se-, or s- 'your' ; sa?nɔ? 'your arrow'
18. ho-, haw-, or ha- 'his' ; ho?nɔ? 'his arrow'
19. ko-, kaw-, or ka- 'her' ; ko?nɔ? 'her arrow'

20. *?o-*, *?aw-*, or *?a-* 'its'; *?o?nɔ?* 'its arrow'
21. *?ɔkhni-*, *?ɔkhny-*, *?ɔkhn-*, *?ɔki-*, or *?ɔky-* 'our'
(*dual*) *?ɔkhni?nɔ?* 'our arrow'
22. *sni-*, *sny-*, or *sn-* 'your' (*dual*); *sni?nɔ?* 'your arrow'
23. *?ɔkwá-*, *?ɔkwε-*, *?ɔkw-*, or *?ɔky-* 'our' (*plural*) *?ɔkwá?nɔ?*
'our arrow'
24. *swa-*, *swε-*, *sw-*, or *j-* 'your' (*plural*); *swa?nɔ?* 'your arrow'
25. *hoti-* or *hon-* 'their' (*masculine nonsingular; two or more*); *hoti?nɔ?* 'their arrow'
26. *?oti-* or *?on-* 'their' (*nonmasculine nonsingular*); *?oti?nɔ?*
'their arrow'

Many noun stems occur with both prefix 5 (subjective 'its') and prefix 20 (objective 'its'), with a difference in meaning describable as indefinite versus specific: *kasnɔ?* 'bark,' *?osnɔ?* 'the bark.' Other stems occur consistently with either one or the other prefix.

More complex nouns may have a base consisting of more than a single morpheme—for example, *?ojistɔ:tá?shä?* 'strawberry'; literally 'that which has an ember on it'—or may end with the plural suffix *-shɔ?*. Examples of words with the latter are *ke?nyá?shɔ?* 'my fingers' (cf. *ke?nya?* 'my finger'), *kahatakɔ:shɔ?* 'in the forests' (cf. *kahatakɔ:h* 'in the forest').

Some nouns have an elliptical form, lacking the pronominal prefix: *jistɔ:tá?shä?* 'strawberry,' *?ahtáhkwa?* 'shoe.' Sometimes the regular form with the pronominal prefix (*?ojistɔ:tá?shä?*) is also used and sometimes not (as with the word for shoe).

Verbs

Many verbs consist solely of a verb stem preceded by a pronominal prefix, which may be one of the subjective or objective prefixes already discussed. A verb stem consists of a verb base followed by an aspect suffix, so that the arrangement parallels that of the nouns:

Pronominal prefix—Verb stem

 Verb base—Aspect suffix

Each of these constituents may contain one or more morphemes.

Three of the four common aspect suffixes will be discussed here, and the fourth will be taken up below. These three will be

referred to as the *descriptive*, *iterative*, and *imperative* suffixes. All of them have a great variety of allomorphs, and little more can be done here than to list them. The descriptive suffix occurs in the forms -?, -:?, -h, -:h, -eh, -oh, -ɔ:h, and -ø. It indicates that the verb base refers to a continuous state with no specific temporal limits. This state may be the result of an action denoted by the base; thus, *kothé?tōh*, containing the base -the?t- 'to pound corn,' can be translated into English as either 'she is pounding corn' (with no specific end in sight) or 'she has pounded the corn.' There is less ambiguity from the point of view of an English speaker when the base is translatable as an adjective: *wi:yo:h* 'it's good, beautiful.'

The iterative suffix appears as -ha?, -h, -a?, -ɔ?, -s, -:s, -as, -?s, -e?s, -es, -ɔs, -ɔ?s, and ø. It indicates that the base refers either to repeated occurrences or to an occurrence that is in progress, but will eventually terminate: *yethé?tha?* 'she (periodically) pounds corn' or 'she's pounding corn' (but will eventually stop). With bases translatable as adjectives, a translation expressing plurality is often called for: *wi:yo:s* 'it's good repeatedly, several things are good.'

The imperative suffix has the forms -h, -:h, -ih, -ah, -äh, -oh, -eh, -t, -k, and -ø. Its meaning is one of exhortation: *säkoh* 'take it out!' *sniyɔ:təh* 'hang it up!'

Except when the verb stem contains the descriptive suffix, a subjective pronominal prefix occurring before a verb stem is translatable as the subject of a verb in English; thus, *yethé?tha?* 'she pounds corn,' *ha:kəh* 'he sees (it).' Conversely, an objective prefix is translatable as an object: *ho:kəh* 'something sees him.' With the descriptive suffix, however, the functions of these pronominal prefixes are somewhat different. The subjective prefix occurs only if the stem has an intransitive meaning, and it indicates the person or thing described: *haya:səh* 'he's called, his name is,' *kani:yo:t* 'it's hanging.' The objective prefix occurs with transitive stems and may be translated as either the subject or the object: *ho:kəh* 'he has seen (it)' or '(something) has seen him.'

In addition to the subjective and objective prefixes, there is a third set of pronominal prefixes that occurs only with verb stems. These prefixes indicate both a subject and an object, and are termed transitive:

27. *kɔ-* or *kɔy-* 'I . . . you (singular)'; *kɔ:kəh* 'I see you'
28. *khni-*, *khny-*, *khn-*, *ki-*, or *ky-* 'I or we (dual) . . . you'

(singular or dual)'; **khni:kəh** 'I, we see you.' Either subject or object (or both) is dual.

29. **kwa-, kwe-, kw-, or ky-** 'I or we (dual or plural) . . . you (singular, dual or plural)'; **kwa:kəh** 'I, we see you.' Either subject or object (or both) is plural.

30. **sk- or ske-** 'you (singular) . . . me'; **ske:kəh** 'you see me'

31. **skhni-, skhny-, skhn-, ski-, or sky-** 'you (singular or dual) . . . me or us (dual)'; **skhni:kəh** 'you see me, us.' Cf. 28

32. **skwa-, skwə-, skw-, or sky-** 'you (singular, dual or plural) . . . me or us (dual or plural)'; **skwa:kəh** 'you see me, us.' Cf. 29

33. **he- or hey-** 'I . . . him'; **he:kəh** 'I see him'

34. **shakhni-, shakhny-, shakhn-, shaki-, or shaky-** 'we (exclusive dual) . . . him'; **shakhni:kəh** 'we see him'

35. **shakwa-, shakwə-, shakw-, or shaky-** 'we (exclusive plural) . . . him'; **shakwa:kəh** 'we see him'

36. **shehni-, shehny-, shehn-, sheti-, or shety-** 'we (inclusive dual) . . . him'; **shehni:kəh** 'we see him'

37. **shetwa-, shetwə-, shetw-, or shety-** 'we (inclusive plural) . . . him'; **shetwa:kəh** 'we see him'

38. **hehs-, hehse-, or hei-** 'you (singular) . . . him'; **hehse:kəh** 'you see him'

39. **shesni-, shesny-, or shesn-** 'you (dual) . . . him'; **shesni:kəh** 'you see him'

40. **sheswa-, sheswə-, shesw-, or shej-** 'you (plural) . . . him'; **sheswa:kəh** 'you see him'

41. **həwə-, həwə-, həwəy-, or həw-** 'he, she, or they . . . him'; **həwə:kəh** 'he, she, they see him'

42. **khe- or khey-** 'I . . . her or them'; **khe:kəh** 'I see her, them'

43. **?akhi- or ?akhiy-** 'we (exclusive nonsingular) . . . her or them'; **?akhi:kəh** 'we see her, them'

44. **?ethi- or ?ethiy-** 'we (inclusive nonsingular) . . . her or them'; **?ethi:kəh** 'we see her, them'

45. **she- or shey-** 'you (singular) . . . her or them'; **she:kəh** 'you see her, them'

46. **?etsi- or ?etsiy-** 'you (nonsingular) . . . her or them'; **?etsi:kəh** 'you see her, them'

47. **hak- or hake-** 'he . . . me'; **hake:kəh** 'he sees me'

48. **shəkhni-, shəkhny-, shəkhn-, shəki-, or shəky-** 'he . . . us (dual)'; **shəkhni:kəh** 'he sees us'

49. **shəkwa-, shəkwə-, shəkw-, or shəky-** 'he . . . us (plural)'; **shəkwa:kəh** 'he sees us'

50. **ya-** or **ye-** 'he . . . you (*singular*)'; **ya:kəh** 'he sees you'
51. **shesni-**, **shesny-**, or **shesn-** 'he . . . you (*dual*)'; **shesni:kəh** 'he sees you'
52. **sheswa-**, **sheswə-**, **shesw-**, or **shej-** 'he . . . you (*plural*)'; **sheswa:kəh** 'he sees you'
53. **shako-**, **shakaw-**, or **shaka-** 'he . . . her'; **shako:kəh** 'he sees her'
54. **hako-** or **hakoy-** 'he . . . them'; **hako:kəh** 'he sees them'
55. **?ok-** or **?oke-** 'she . . . me'; **?oke'kəh** 'she sees me'
56. **?esa-**, **?ese-**, or **?es-** 'she . . . you (*singular*)'; **?esa:kəh** 'she sees you'
57. **hök-** or **höke-** 'they . . . me'; **höke:kəh** 'they see me'
58. **hösa-**, **höse-**, or **hös-** 'they . . . you (*singular*)'; **hösa:kəh** 'they see you'
59. **?okhi-** or **?okhiy-** 'she or they . . . us'; **?okhi:kəh** 'she, they see us'
60. **?etsi-** or **?etsiy-** 'she or they . . . you (*nonsingular*)'; **?etsi:kəh** 'she, they see you'
61. **shakoti-** or **shakon-** 'they (*masculine*) . . . her'; **shakoti:kəh** 'they see her'
62. **höwəti-** or **höwen-** 'she or they . . . them (*masculine*)'; **höwəti:kəh** 'she, they see them'
63. **köwəti-** or **köwen-** 'she or they . . . them (*nonmasculine*)'; **köwəti:kəh** 'she, they see them'
64. **köwo-** or **köwøy-** 'it . . . it'; **köwo:kəh** 'it sees it'

The meaning 'he . . . him,' which may be expressed by prefix 41, may also be expressed by the objective prefix 18. 'She . . . her' may be expressed either by prefix 19 or by the forms **yətat-**, **yətah-**, or **yətate-**, which are actually prefix 4 plus a reciprocal morpheme. The latter forms may also mean 'they (*nonmasculine*) . . . her.' Neuter subjects are normally implied in the various objective prefixes, neuter objects in the subjective prefixes. The meanings of prefixes 5, 20, and 64 thus overlap.

The verb structure described above may be expanded in a number of different ways. The verb base may occur with a noun base before it, most commonly to denote its object, but sometimes its subject or an instrument: **hanähtakeh** 'he sees a leaf' (-näht[a]- 'leaf'); **kanähtə's** 'a leaf falls'; **ha?hnyáyətha?** 'he hits it with a club' (-?hnya- 'club').

The verb base may also begin with the reflexive morpheme, indicating that the subject is affected by whatever is described, or with the reciprocal, indicating that the subject acts upon itself.

Note the reflexive *-at-* in *?akatihíkwä:sh* 'I've put my hat on'—cf. *?akihikwä:sh* 'I've put a hat on it'—the reciprocal *-atat-* in *?o?kátathe:?* 'I cut myself.'

Morphemes may be suffixed to the base to add causative, inchoative, distributive, instrumental, dative, and other meanings. Causative *-ht-* occurs in *honáhehtsh* 'he has filled it' (-*náhe-* 'be full'). Inchoative *-?-t-* occurs in *?o?kye:te:t* 'I came to know it' (-*yete-* 'know'). Distributive *-hɔ-* occurs in *hané?akhoh* 'he does a number of wrong things' (-*ne?ak-* 'do wrong'). Instrumental *-hkw-* occurs in *?ohsóhkwa?* 'it's used for coloring, paint' (-*hsó-* 'color'). Dative *-ni-* occurs in *hakhyatɔ:ni:h* 'he has written it for me' (-*hyatɔ-* 'write'). All these morphemes have several other allomorphs.

The aspect suffix may also be modified to indicate progression, continuation, past time, and several other meanings. The progressive morpheme *-aty-* occurs in *hothyówi:atyē?* 'he was talking along about it.' Continuative *-ak-* occurs in *?eyéthe?tha:k* 'she'll continue to pound corn.' The past morpheme *-kwa?* occurs in *hané?skwa?* 'he used to like it.'

Another group of suffixes may add an attributive meaning to the entire word:

- ko:wa:h* 'big, great, important'; *hatíyosko:wa:h* 'he's a great fighter'
- ?ah* 'almost, kind of'; *?o?kā:s?ah* 'it's almost night, evening'
- kha:?*, *-ke:a?*, *-ka?*, or *-ka:?* 'characterized by, the . . . variety';
?okwé?ewe:kha:? 'the Indian variety, the Seneca language'
- :onɔ?* 'person of or from'; *tkanötasé:onɔ?* 'person from New-town' (on the Cattaraugus Reservation)
- ke:?:?* 'former, deceased'; *haksótke:?:?* 'my deceased grandfather'
- shɔ?sh* 'pluralization'; *howéshɔ?sh* 'his belongings'—cf. *ho:weh* 'it belongs to him'

The verb may also be modified by the addition of prefixes. In many cases, the form of the pronominal prefix will then be a variant, but these variations are too numerous to be listed here. Especially common are the future, indicative, and optative prefixes. A verb which contains one of these commonly ends with a fourth aspect suffix, the punctual; this is the only condition under which the punctual suffix occurs. The forms of the punctual suffix are exactly like those of the imperative (p. 14), except that wherever the imperative has *h*, the punctual has *?*. It means that whatever is referred to by the verb base happens only once.

The future prefix occurs as ?e- or ?e- and has a future meaning: ?eke:ke? 'I'll see it.' Another example was given with the continuative morpheme above. The indicative has the forms ?o?- wa-, or ?e-, and means that the event is an incontestable fact. It is often, although not necessarily, translated with the simple past tense in English: ?o?ke:ke? 'I saw it' or 'I see it' (*right at this moment*). Other examples were given with the reciprocal and inchoative morphemes above. The optative prefix occurs in the forms ?a:- or ?ae- and indicates likelihood or obligation: ?a:ke:ke? 'I might see it' or 'I ought to see it.'

The verb structure described, whether or not it is modified by one of the three prefixes just listed, may also be preceded by one or more of several other prefixes. Among these are the following:

t- or ti- 'there, here, this way'; tkā:hkwitke? 'the sun emerges there, the east.'

he-, h-, or ha?- 'over there, that way'; heyakawe:nɔ:h 'she has gone over there'

s-, t-, or ji- 'again, back, other, one'; shata:khe? 'he's running again'

te-, t-, or ti- 'duplication, change of state'; tejitwatas 'let's stand it back up'

te?-, te-, or ta?- 'negation'; te?wi:yo:h 'it's not good'

ni-, n-, or nɔ?- 'how'; nikye:ha? 'how I do it'

tsi-, ts-, or tsa?- 'when'; tsikeksa?á:h 'when I was a small child'

thi-, th-, tha?- 'contrast'; thiyɔ:kwe?ta:te? 'it's a different person'

III. Glossary

“Nor is it always easy to comprehend or state with precision the shade of meaning implied in the Indian word.” (H. M. Lloyd, 1901)

The terms presented in this section are arranged according to categories, since it was felt that such an arrangement would be considerably more useful than an alphabetical one. The categories are listed in the table of contents. The English equivalents are listed alphabetically in the index.

Each entry lists the Seneca term, variant spellings used by other writers (identified by abbreviations—p. 59), English equivalents, also followed by abbreviations if peculiar to a particular source, and a literal translation when one is known and when the English equivalents are not literal translations.

A few words regarding these literal translations are necessary. Many terms in the glossary refer to some specific cultural item, but have at the same time a descriptive meaning that is apparent to any speaker of Seneca; for example, *ke:tanéhkwi* ‘horse’ means literally ‘it hauls logs.’ Other terms, like *ka?ta:syo:t*, usually translated ‘stomp dance’ by the Indians, have historical meanings not recognized by most or all present-day speakers. That this particular term originated with the meaning ‘standing quiver’ is not apparent to many speakers today, presumably because people have ceased talking about quivers. Other terms contain features that defy satisfactory interpretation. While speculation on such items is always possible and occasionally rewarding, only those meanings which have been apparent to Seneca speakers or which are reasonably certain etymologically have been given.

1. Classifications of Society

A. Kinship Terminology

The stem *-no:k* means ‘be (*either consanguineally or affinally*) related to’:

he:na:k ‘I’m related to him’

she:na:k ‘you’re related to her, them’

?akwate:na:k ‘we (*exclusive plural*) are related to each other’ etc.

The system described in the rest of this section is the traditional Seneca classification, which is actually familiar today to only a minority of the older people. In the context of this classification, the English kinship terms such as *cousin*, *mother* etc., which are customarily used by both ethnologists and Indians as translations of the Seneca terms, are necessarily only rough labels, not to be understood in the meanings which they have in reference to our own kinship system. The latter system is also recognized by the Indians, of course, and the English translations are accurate for the Seneca terms when they are employed in the context of this latter system.

A few observations on the linguistic peculiarities exhibited by these terms may be helpful. Nearly all the kinship terms consist of a verb stem denoting a particular relationship, preceded by a pronominal prefix that specifies the member or members of the relationship referred to. In general, stems that denote relationships between members of the same generation, when their relative ages are not significant, occur with dual or plural subjective prefixes to denote all the members of the relationship to whom reference is made: *?akwā:se?* 'we (*exclusive plural*) are cousins' (often translated 'my cousins'). For most of the relationships involving an older and a younger member, there is a stem that occurs with transitive prefixes of which the subject is the older, the object the younger member: *-?ke?* 'to be an older sibling of, to have as a younger sibling' in, for example, *he?ke?* 'I am his older sibling, my younger brother.' While stems of this type can refer to either the older or younger member, they are more commonly used to refer only to the younger member of the relationship, another stem being more commonly used to refer to the older. These last stems are, from the point of view of other verb stems in the language, irregular with regard to the meaning, form, or both, of some of the pronominal prefixes with which they occur:

(a) With some, but not all of these stems, only a singular subjective prefix is used for the terms translatable as 'my . . .': *hahji?* '(*he is*) my older brother.'

(b) The feminine morpheme has the form *?a-: ?ahji?* '(*she is*) my older sister.'

(c) Terms translatable with a second or third person possessor ('your . . .', 'his . . .' etc.) contain simply the appropriate second or third person objective prefix, but with the following semantic peculiarities:

ho- means 'his' or 'her' as long as one of the kinsmen involved in the relationship is male: **hohji?** 'his older brother or sister, her older brother.'

?o- means 'her' when the referent is female, but 'its' when the referent is male: **?ohji?** 'her older sister,' but **?o?nih** 'its father.'

(d) Transitive prefixes also occur, overlapping some of the meanings accounted for above, but with no consistent direction of relationship: **ya?nih** 'your father,' but **hɔwɔ?nih** 'their father.'

Consanguineal Kinship¹

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'siblings.' The relationship between members of the same generation who either have a common parent or whose parents are consanguineally related, provided these related parents are of the same sex, is referred to with the stem **-até:nɔ:te:?** (with the duplicative prefix) 'be siblings.' Persons so related to me are, in English terms, my brothers and sisters and all my cousins in my generation, no matter of what degree, whose fathers are related to my father or whose mothers are related to my mother. Examples of this stem:

teyakyaté:nɔ:te:? 'we (exclusive dual) are siblings'

teyakwaté:nɔ:te:? [da-yä'-gwä-dan'-no-dä] 'we (exclusive plural) are siblings'

te:yáté:nɔ:te:? 'they (masculine dual) are siblings'

te:nɔté:nɔ:te:? 'they (masculine plural) are siblings'

There is also a narrower classification which distinguishes the relative age of the 'siblings.' One of the two stems used here is **-?kε:?** 'have as younger sibling,' and it occurs with the transitive prefixes in regular fashion:

he?kε:? [ha'-ga] 'I have him as younger sibling, my younger brother'

khe?kε:? [ka'-ga] 'I have her as younger sibling, my younger sister'

haké?kε:? 'he has me as younger sibling, my older brother'

twatáte?kε:? 'we (inclusive plural) are to each other as older

¹ This section follows Floyd G. Lounsbury's unpublished analysis of Iroquois consanguineal classes. The variant spellings given in brackets are all from Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*.

to younger siblings, our younger brothers'—used to refer to white men

The other stem is the irregular **-hji?** 'have as older sibling':

hahji? [hă'-je] 'my older brother'

?ahji? [ah'-je] 'my older sister'

Twins are referred to with the stem **-khəh** (with the duplicative prefix):

te:ni:khəh or **te:ikhəh** 'they (*masculine dual*) are twins'

tekhnī:khəh or **teki:khəh** [ta-geek'-ha] 'they (*masculine dual*) are twins'

tekhnī:khəh or **teki:khəh** [ta-geek'-hă] 'they (*nonmasculine dual*) are twins'

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'cousins.' The relationship between two members of the same generation whose parents are consanguineally related, when these related parents are not of the same sex, is referred to with the stem **-ā:se:?**—or **-é:se:?** after an **n**—'be cousins.' Persons so related to me are, in English terms, all my cousins in my generation, no matter of what degree, whose fathers are related to my mother or whose mothers are related to my father. Examples of this stem:

?akyā:se:? [ah-gare'-seh] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are cousins'

yā:se:? 'they (*masculine dual*) are cousins'

hené:se:? 'they (*masculine plural*) are cousins'

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'parents' and 'children.' The relationship between persons a generation apart in which the older member is either the natural parent of the younger, or is consanguineally related to and the same sex as one of the natural parents of the younger, is referred to with one of three stems. The first and more regular is **-(h)a(:)wak** 'have as child':

he:awak [ha-ah'-wuk] 'I have him as child, my son'

khe:awak [ka-ah'-wuk] 'I have her as child, my daughter'

hakha:wak 'he has me as child, my father'

shakóawak 'he has her as child, his daughter'

yatáthawak 'they (*masculine dual*) are parent-child to each other, a man and his son or daughter, a woman and her son'

The second stem, used only to refer to a 'father' in this relationship, is **-?nih**:

ho?nih 'his or her father'

hotí?nih 'their (*masculine nonsingular*) father'

ya?nih 'your father'

hōwó?nih 'her or their father'

ha?nih [*hä-nih*] 'my father'

The third stem, used only to refer to a 'mother' in this relationship, is **-nó?eh**:

honó?eh 'his mother'

?onó?eh 'her mother'

sanó?eh 'your mother'

shakotinó?eh 'their mother'

The common word for 'my mother,' however, is the anomalous **no?yeh** [*no-yeh'*].

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'uncles,' 'aunts,' 'nephews,' and 'nieces.' The relationship between persons a generation apart in which the older member is consanguineally related to and the opposite sex from one of the natural parents of the younger is referred to with one of four stems. The two which occur with regular prefixes are **-é:wɔ:tε?** 'be uncle to' and **-hsó?neh** 'be aunt to'; both are usually or always used to refer to the younger member of the relationship:

heyé:wɔ:tε? [*ha-ya'-wan-da*] 'I'm his uncle, my nephew'

kheyé:wɔ:tε? [*ka-ya'-wan-da*] 'I'm her uncle, my niece'

hehsé:wɔ:tε? 'you're his uncle, your nephew'

hōwó:yε:wɔ:tε? 'they're his uncles, their nephew'

hehsó?neh [*ha-soh'-neh*] 'I'm his aunt, my nephew'

khehsó?neh [*ka-soh'-neh*] 'I'm her aunt, my niece'

hōwó:tihsó?neh 'they're aunts to them (*masculine*), their nephews'

The other two are **-nó?eh** 'be uncle to' and **-hak** 'be aunt to,' used only to refer to the older member of the relationship:

hakhnó?eh 'my uncle'

yanó?eh 'your uncle'

shakóno?eh 'her uncle'

honó?eh 'his or her uncle'

?ake:hak [*ah-ga'-huc*] 'my aunt'

ya:hak 'your aunt (*said to a man*)'

?esa:hak 'your aunt (*said to a woman*)'

hōwɔ:hak 'his aunt or aunts'

ho:hak 'his aunt'

?o:hak 'her aunt'

Kinsmen two generations apart: 'grandparents' and 'grandchildren.' The relationship between any consanguineally related kinsmen who are two generations apart is referred to with the stems **-ate?** and **-(h)so:t.**

-a(:)te? 'be grandparent to' occurs with transitive prefixes to denote either member of the relationship, but more commonly denotes the younger:

heya:te? [*ha-yä'-da*] 'my grandson'

kheya:te? [*ka-yä'-da*] 'my granddaughter'

haka:te? 'my grandfather'

yate? 'your grandson'

shako:te? 'his granddaughter'

yatata? 'a man and his grandson or granddaughter, a woman and her grandson'

-(h)so:t 'be grandparent to' occurs with the irregular prefixes and refers only to the older member of the relationship:

hakso:t [*hoc'-sote*] 'my grandfather'

?akso:t [*oc'-sote*] 'my grandmother'

yahso:t 'your grandfather'

hohso:t 'his or her grandfather'

?ethihso:t 'our (*inclusive*) grandmother' (*used ceremonially to refer to the moon*)

Kinsmen three or more generations apart: 'great-grandparents' and 'great-grandchildren.' The relationship between consanguineally related kinsmen who are three or more generations apart is referred to with the terms described immediately above, supplemented by the suffix **-ko:wa:h:**

haksótko:wa:h 'my great-grandfather'

heyáte?ko:wa:h 'my great-grandson'

Affinal Kinship

The common word for 'my spouse' is **teyakyati:h** 'we (*exclusive dual*) together make up the total.' Also frequently used are **hekéhjih** 'my husband,' literally 'my old man,' and **khekéhjih** 'my wife, my old lady.' Less standardized, often facetious forms are sometimes used by particular individuals; for example, **teyakyatkœtáhkwa?** 'we lay down our heads together.' In referring to another person's spouse the usual word is **né:yo?** 'his or her spouse.' The verb stem **-hyo:?** 'be man and wife' occurs regularly with the reciprocal in such words as **yata:thyo:?** 'he and his wife.' There is also a noun stem **-nóhkwa?** found in

kanóhkwa? 'married couple,' **honóhkwa?** 'his wife,' **konóhkwa?** 'her husband.'

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'brothers-in-law' and 'sisters-in-law.' The relationship between affinally related kinsmen of the same generation is referred to with three different stems: **-a(:)tyoh**, **-ä?ni:e?**, and **-a(:)nyeh**. The differences in meaning between these stems are not entirely clear, since the terms are little used today, and Morgan's information is somewhat confusing. The following is based on Morgan, with alternative meanings from present-day speakers given in the footnotes.

-a(:)tyoh is used when the kinsmen are of the same sex:¹

?akya:tyoh [*ah-ge-äh'-ne-o* (?)] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law, my brother-in-law (*said by a man*), my sister-in-law (*said by a woman*)'

yatyoḥ 'your brother-in-law (*said to a man*), your sister-in-law (*said to a woman*)'

-ä?ni:e? is used by a man to refer to a woman:

?akä?ni:e? [*ah-ge-ah'-ne-ah*] 'my sister-in-law' (*said by a man*)

-a(:)nyeh seems to have the same meaning² and is not given by Morgan:

?akya:nyeh 'my sister-in-law'

Morgan gives in addition the terms **ha-yă'-o** and **ka-yă'-o**, used respectively by a woman to refer to a man and vice versa. Perhaps these are **heyé?** 'I set him down' and **kheyé?** 'I set her down.'

Another stem which indicates an affinal relationship between members of the same generation is **-ateno:ɔ?**. This, however, is used to refer to the relationship between sets of parents who are related through the marriage of their children:

?akwateno:ɔ? 'we are parents-in-law of the same couple'

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'parents-in-law' and 'children-in-law.' The relationship between affinally related kinsmen a generation apart is referred to with the stems **-e:hɔ:s**, **-ne:hɔ:s**, and **-sa?**.

-e:hɔ:s is used reciprocally to refer to the relationship between a son-in-law and his parents-in-law:

?akhne:hɔ:s [*oc-na'-hose*] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are related as

¹ But current evidence suggests that it is used when at least one of the kinsmen is male.

² Or else it is used only to refer to a female kinsman.

son-in-law to parent-in-law'
?akwe:ho:s 'we (exclusive plural) . . .'

-ne(:)ho:s 'have as son-in-law' occurs with transitive prefixes and the reciprocal prefix:

shakhnínehō:s 'our son-in-law'

yatáhnehō:s 'he or she and his or her son-in-law'

-sa? 'have as daughter-in-law' occurs with transitive prefixes to refer to either member of this relationship:

khe:sa? [*ka'-sä*] 'my daughter-in-law'

she:sa? 'your daughter-in-law'

hake:sa? [*hä-ga'-sä*] 'my father-in-law' (*said by a woman*)

?oke:sa? [*on-ga'-sä*] 'my mother-in-law' (*said by a woman*)

kosa? 'her daughter-in-law'

The stems **-no:?** and **-nō?is** are used in referring to a step-parent-stepchild relationship.

-no:? 'have as stepchild' occurs with transitive prefixes to denote either member of this relationship, but more commonly refers to the younger:

he:no:? [*ha'-no*] 'my stepson'

khe:no:? [*ka'-no*] 'my stepdaughter'

hakhno:? 'my stepfather'

hōwō:no:? 'her, their stepson'

-nō?is 'be stepparent to' occurs with irregular prefixes and refers only to the older member of the relationship:

hakhnō?is [*hoc-no'-ese*] 'my stepfather'

?akhnō?is [*oc-no'-ese*] 'my stepmother'

honō?is 'his stepfather or stepmother, her stepfather'

?onō?is 'her stepmother'

B. Other Social Classifications

The Family

The noun stem **-(h/:)waji:yä?** 'family' occurs with subjective pronominal prefixes and is used now to refer to the kinsmen with whom one resides, although historical sources indicate that it earlier referred to a matrilineage:¹

khwaji:yä? 'my family'

ha:waji:yä? 'his family'

ye:waji:yä? 'her family'

¹ See J. N. B. Hewitt, *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 21, p. 255, footnote a (1903).

Clans

The word for 'clan' ('tribe'—LHM) is **ka?**sä:te?; with the distributive morpheme, **ka?**sä:te:ny? 'the clans.' The morpheme -?sä:- 'clan' is found in numerous other words.

The names of the eight matrilineal clans are listed below with the pronominal prefixes denoting 'they are members of the . . . clan.' With the exception of the Turtle Clan, the names bear no relation to the common names of the respective animals, although Morgan listed principally the latter.

hotijoní?ka:? 'they are Bears'

honótha:yɔ:nih 'they are Wolves,' often simply **thá:yɔ:nih**

[*tor-yoh'-ne*—LHM]

hatínyahtε:h 'they are Turtles'

hotíke?ke:ka:? 'they are Beavers'

hotí:nyɔ:kwaiyo? 'they are Deer'

hotíswe?kaiyo? 'they are Hawks'

hotí?nehsi:yo? 'they are Snipes'

honɔ:táε?ɔ:ka:? or **hotitáε?ɔ:ka:?** 'they are Herons'

There is also a term for the members of 'my father's clan': **?akatɔ:ní:onɔ?**, literally 'the people from whom I have grown, who engendered me.'

Moieties

The two moieties are not named. In Reservation English they are usually referred to as 'sides.' The first four clans listed above are sometimes called 'the animal side,' the last four 'the bird side.' The members of the same moiety share a relationship expressed by the stem **-atε:nɔtyɔ?shɔ?**, an expansion of the base that means 'to be brothers and sisters,' while the relationship between the members of opposite moieties is expressed by the stem **-ä:?:se:shε?**, an expansion of the base that means 'to be cousins':

?akwate:nótyɔ?shɔ? 'we (*exclusive plural*) belong to the same moiety'

honatε:nótyɔ?shɔ? 'they (*masculine*) belong to the same moiety'

?ɔkwä:?:séshε? 'we belong to opposite moieties'

hone:?:séshε? 'they belong to opposite moieties'

Nations

The term for the 'Six Nations' is **ye:i?** níonɔ:εjake:h, literally 'six lands.'

Grouping by Age and Sex

A community may be further thought of as divided into the following four classes of people:

yeksá?shɔ?ɔh or **hatiksa?shɔ?ɔh** 'the children'

weniɔshɔ?ɔh 'the women'

hotiske?ékehtɔh 'the warriors'

yekəhjishɔ?ɔh or **hatikəhjishɔ?ɔh** 'the old people'

The women, as a group, may also be referred to as **?akhíno?əh**, literally 'our mothers.'

C. Functionaries

Longhouse Officials

Members of the longhouse community are called **kanɔhseské:onɔ?** 'longhouse people.' Their principal appointed officials are **honóti:ɔt** 'Faith Keepers' (WNF), 'head ones, fire keepers' (RE), literally 'appointed ones.' A single 'Faith Keeper' is a **hotí:ɔt** if a man, a **kotí:ɔt** if a woman. At Allegany and Cattaraugus there are particular 'Faith Keepers' who have more authority than the others. They may be called **hatihsenowaneh** 'chiefs' (see Civil Officials below) or, at Cattaraugus, **?óetɔshɔ?** 'head ones.' A head woman at Cattaraugus may be called **kotókestɔh** 'she keeps it straight.' At Allegany there are two male 'Faith Keepers' with special duties who are known as **honóti:wáke:ɔ?** 'Wampum Keepers,' literally 'they peddle the message.' A single 'Wampum Keeper' is called **hoti:waké:ɔ?**.

Civil Officials

Civil leaders at Cattaraugus are called **teyɔkhiya?towéhtanih** 'they deliberate for us,' **kowanó?ta?** 'great one,' or **hakyá?tanɔh** 'he watches over me.'

At Tonawanda the chief system described by Morgan is retained. A chief (or sachem) is called **hahsənowa:nəh** 'his name is great.' Other, less common, designations are:

hoya:ne:h, literally 'he is of noble lineage'

kaktéäkweni:yo?, literally 'the main root'

teyɔtɔejayáshɔhkwa?, literally 'serving the fame of the nation'

A subchief, or person next in line for the chief's title, may be called:

sho:nó?ne:t, literally 'he's next in line'

?oktéä?ké ha:at, literally 'he's standing on the root over there'
 he:tanh, literally 'he watches over the tree'

A third-level chief (or "messenger") is called té:hta:s, literally 'he runs.'

The eight chief titles held by the Seneca are:

kanyotaiyo? or skanyotaiyo? 'Handsome Lake'

tsa?teké:ye:s or sha?teké:ye:s 'even with the sky' or 'skies equal in length'

shoké?jo:wa:? 'he of the large forehead'

ka?nokaah (apparently containing the morpheme which means 'arrow')

níshanye:né?t 'the two of them staggered' (elliptical)

shatyenow?S 'he who helps' (elliptical)

kanéhkí:?tawi? (perhaps with a meaning that involved 'frying')

to:nihokä:?wəh (apparently containing a verb stem that means 'open')

2. Communal Activities

A. Calendrical Ceremonies

The annual ceremonies held in or centering at the longhouse are variously referred to in English as 'festivals' (LHM), 'ceremonies' (WNF), 'dances' or 'doings' (RE). The individual ceremonies are referred to in Seneca with the following terms:

kaiwanooskwá?ko:wa:h [*gi'-ye-wä-no-us-quä-go-wä*—LHM]

'Midwinter or New Year's Ceremony.' This word has the suffix -ko:wa:h 'great, important' added to kaiwanóoskwa?, a form that is not now recognized as a word, but that seems etymologically to have meant 'the matter used to be difficult,' possibly with reference to 'dream guessing.'

kané?yas?o:?: (identical with the preceding). The verb base -né?y- 'have the Midwinter Ceremony' may occur with various prefixes and suffixes; for example, hotíne?yas 'they are having the Midwinter Ceremony,' ?ókwane?yáhse? 'we are going to have the Midwinter Ceremony.'

ta:tinó:nyo wahta? 'Maple or Sap Ceremony,' literally 'they are thankful for the maple.' This and many of the following terms may occur with various prefixes and suffixes; for example té:tinó:nyo:?: wahta? 'they will be thankful for the maple, will have the Maple Ceremony,'

ta:tinó:nyo kahataye? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they are thankful for the forest'

henótsiskóa? (identical with the two preceding), literally 'they put mush in water'; that is, 'they boil mush'

ta:tinó:nyo ká:hkwa?: 'Sun Ceremony,' literally 'they are thankful for the sun'

to:wótno:onyo hatiwenotatye? 'Thunder Ceremony,' literally 'they thank them, the Thunderers'

hewótiyenókóhtani hatiwenotatye? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they put in a song for them, the Thunderers'

wasa:se? (identical with the two preceding), literally 'War Dance,' a component of the ceremony (cf. p. 31)

henóhneókwa?syóa? or henóhne:kwa?syóa? 'Seed or Planting Ceremony,' literally 'they put seeds in water,' evidently with reference to soaking the seeds before planting.

?ata:yéo? 'Strawberry Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of berries'

henóta:yé:es (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather berries'

henóta:yo:s or henóta:yóa? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they put berries in water'

henótetkówó?séoa? 'Bean or String Bean Ceremony,' literally 'they put (string) beans in water'

?atekhwéo? 'Green Corn Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of food'

henótekhwé:es (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather food'

?athähkwéo? 'Harvest or Bread Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of bread'

henóthähkwé:es (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather bread'

B. Terms Associated with the Calendrical Ceremonies

The Four Rituals

The ke:i niyówa:ke:h 'Four Rituals' ('Four Sacred Ceremonies'—WNF) prescribed by the Creator are:

1. ?ostowä?ko:wa:h [*o-sto-weh'-go-wä*—LHM] 'Great Feather Dance'

kanonyowa:néh (identical with the preceding), literally 'big dance'

2. **konéo?** [*gü-na'-o-uh*—LHM] ‘Thanksgiving, Skin, or Drum Dance,’ ‘Worship Dance’ (RE)
3. **?atɔ:we?** [*ah-do'-weh*—LHM] ‘Personal Chant’
hato:tha? ‘he is singing **?atɔ:we?**’
hənətɔ:shətha? ‘they are accompanying **?atɔ:we?**’ (saying he?, he?, he? in rhythm)
4. **kajé?kekha:?** ‘Bowl, Dish, or Peach Stone Game,’ literally ‘characterized by a bowl’
kane:hwɛ?ko:wa:h (identical with the preceding)
kayetowa:neh (identical with the two preceding), literally ‘big game’
kaje? ‘bowl’
kaské?e? [*gus-kä'-eh*—LHM] ‘peach stone’

Songs and Dances

wasa:se? [*wä-sä-seh*—LHM] ‘War Dance’ (‘Sioux War Dance’—LHM)

waenəní?je:? ‘they do the War Dance’ (with reference to the dance step of the preceding)

wa:énə?e:? [*wä-a-no'-a*—LHM] ‘Striking a Stick’ (‘Sun Dance’—RE)

yət̥h̥wi:sas, wen̥t̥h̥wi:sas, or th̥wi:sas [*un-to-we'-sus*—LHM] ‘Women’s Song’ (WNF), ‘Shuffle Dance’ (LHM), ‘Sisters of the Dio ‘he’ko’ (ACP; see *tyəhēhkoh*, p. 49)

kan̥eo:wi:? ‘Dawn Song’ (‘song to the middle pantheon’—WNF)

?é:skä:nye:? or **?e:hsí:takä:nye:?** ‘Women’s Shuffle Dance’

?e:skä:nyé?ko:wa:h ‘Great Shuffle Dance’

?é:skä:nye:? **kaen̥káyəkha:?** ‘Old-Fashioned Shuffle Dance’

?onéo? **?oən̥o?** ‘Corn Dance’

ka?ta:syo:t [*gä-dä'-shote*—LHM] ‘Stomp Dance’ (‘Trotting Dance’—LHM), literally ‘standing quiver’

tey̥tenésh̥tha? [*da-yun'-da-nes-hunt-hä*—LHM] ‘Linking Arms Dance’

kan̥o?jitké:? [*gü'-no-jit'-ga-o*—LHM] ‘Taking the Kettle Out’ (LHM), ‘Carry-Out-the-Kettle’ (WNF)

ka?nokə:yə:? ‘Grinding the Arrow’

(?o)jihaya? ‘Devil Dance, Devil’s Feather Dance’

The last four are sometimes known collectively as the ‘Devil’s Four Rituals.’

Other Terms

kanó:nyók 'Thanksgiving Speech'

kaiwawéthahóh 'Inserted Message'

hatiksa?tóá? 'they are naming children,' literally 'putting children in water'

shenötathéwatha? 'they are confessing,' literally 'punishing themselves again'

yaté:yé? 'Big Heads' ('Uncles'—RE)

C. Noncalendrical Ceremonies

Restricted (Medicine Ceremonies)

The following are ceremonies in which participation is, at least ideally, restricted to the members of a particular society:

nyakwai? ?oeno? [ne-ä'-gwi—LHM] 'Bear Dance,' literally 'bear song'

tekiyá?koh ?oeno? [da-ge'-ya-go—LHM] 'Buffalo Dance'

táwe:etó? ?oeno? 'Otter Dance'

kakóhsa? [gä-go'-sä—LHM] 'False-Face'

hotikohsóska?ah 'Common Faces' ('Doctors' Dance'—ACP), literally 'they have nothing but faces' (said to be thus called because the masks lack a tobacco pouch attached to the back)

teyótyóhkéotha? 'Thumbs-Up Dance,' literally 'they put their thumbs up'

teyé:hsí?tatías 'Alternate Feet Dance' ('Doorkeepers' Dance'—ACP), literally 'they alternate their feet'

teyé:nyotha? (part of the preceding), literally 'they stand it upright'

kajíhsa? 'Husk-Face'

nika:neká?a:h 'Little Water'

yéi?to:s, yí:?to:s, hatí:?to:s, kái?towa:neh, or kái?to:?: 'Shake the Pumpkin' (RE), 'Society of Mystic Animals' (ACP), 'Sharp Point' (WNF)

kane:nyó?to:?: (an uncommon variant of the preceding[?])

kahatiyá?kó?óh 'Crossing the Woods'

hatihati:ya?s (identical with the preceding), literally 'they cross the woods'

ka:yowéo?ko:wa:h (identical with the two preceding)

kaenowéthahóh 'Inserted Song'

teyótahsótaikoh [da-yo-dä'-sun-dä-e'-go—LHM] 'Dark Dance,' literally 'it's dark'

tewenɔ:tahsɔ:tái:ktha? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they make it dark'

yí:ɔ:ta?:tha? 'Quavering,' literally 'they make the words (or voices) tremble'

(?o)téswate:nyo? [da-swä-da-ne'-a—LHM] 'Changing Ribs' ('Tumbling Dance'—LHM, 'Woman's Society'—ACP)

kané?kwä:?:e?: 'Eagle Dance'

kané?ɔ:ta?:tɔ:h (identical with the preceding), literally 'shaking the Eagle Dance fan'

ke:i niwáhsɔ:ta:ke:h 'Four Nights' (performed in Canada only)

sawanó:nyo?: (an obsolete dance)

kayetó?:ke:a? (also obsolete)

Unrestricted

The following ceremonies are open to the whole community:

káwi:yo:h 'Good Message' ('Code of Handsome Lake')

?é:wɔ:hsa:to?: 'his funeral,' literally 'they will bury him'; ?eshakotihsat?: 'her funeral'

?atyä:kho:shä? 'Tenth Day Feast'

?ohki:we:h 'Dance for the Dead' (LHM), 'Chanters for the Dead' (ACP), 'Feast of the Dead, Ghost Dance' (WNF)

kayetó?:shä? (an all-night dance for the dead, commonly the all-night version of the preceding)

kahsá?: 'All Eaten Up' (another ceremony for the dead)

kanó:hkwa:nyók 'Expressions of Love' (similar to the preceding, but with an offering of cider)

D. Terms Associated with the Noncalendrical Ceremonies

?ote:shä? 'medicine ceremony, dance, doings'

hotes 'there's a ceremony for him' ('recipient'—WNF)

hotésyo:ni:h 'he's preparing the ceremony' ('sponsor'—WNF)

hotésyo? 'he has the ceremony ready,' literally 'he has the ceremony in the water' ('sponsor'—WNF)

hastéistha? 'he arranges' ('conductor'—WNF)

hatyáswas 'he notifies' ('messenger'—WNF)

haya?tɔ:táhkɔ:h 'he's entitled to the ceremony' (that is, 'he belongs to the appropriate society')

yeya?tɔ:táhkɔ:h 'she's entitled to the ceremony'

henéyo?: 'fortune teller' (male)

yenéyo?: 'fortune teller' (female)

ta:ya?tó:wetha? 'fortune teller,' literally 'he deliberates'

?otsinóhké?ta? 'charm'

honótsinóhké? 'they belong to a charm society' ('charm holders'
—WNF)

yótá?sätha? 'goods distributed during ?ohki:we:h'

hahoanósta:s 'he guards the door, doorkeeper'

hatíyé?kwaye:nih 'they're holding a Little Water ceremony,'
literally 'putting down tobacco for it'

hatinotaye:nih (identical with the preceding), literally 'they're
putting down a reed for it'

kano:ta? 'night song of the Little Water society' (ACP), literally
'reed'

hate:ne:t 'keeper of the Little Water medicine'

E. Secular Songs and Dances

While some of the following are performed as parts of religious ceremonies, all of them are regarded as belonging to a more secular or "social" category than the dances so far listed:

jä:hko:wa:? ?oén? 'Pigeon Dance'

jo?ä:ka? ?oén? 'Raccoon Dance'

kejoh ?oén? 'Fish Dance'

keötanéhkwi? ?oén? 'Horse Dance' ('Had-a-Horse' WNF)

kwa?y??:? ?oén? 'Rabbit Dance'

so:wák ?oén? 'Duck Dance'

takä?:?e?:? ?oén? 'Chicken Dance'

teká?n??:t??:t? ?oén? 'Alligator Dance'

thwe:t or thwaet ?oén? 'Swan Dance'

tyó:yaik ?oén? 'Robin Dance'

kaksoke:yo?:? [guk-sa'-gä-ne-a—LHM] 'Grinding Dishes'

kanestókä?:e?:? 'Beating the Dry Skin'

kashé?t?ta?:t??:h 'Shaking the Jug'

kaskoe?ta?t??:h [os-ko-dä'-tü—LHM] 'Shaking the Bush'

ka?nóst?ke:kha?:? 'Naked Dance,' literally 'characterized by nakedness' (identical with the preceding)

kayó:waka:yo?:? 'Old Moccasin'

tewatsihásyo?:? 'Garter Dance'

wa?énothi:yo?:? 'Sharpening the Stick'

ty?tatenyátkä:s 'Grab Your Partner' (RE), 'Choose a Partner'
(WNF), literally 'they grab each other'

y?tatya?tasy?nyá?tha? 'Preparation Dance' (LHM), literally
'they prepare themselves with it'

?onéshé?t??:h 'Arm-Shaking Dance' (LHM), literally 'dropped arm'

?oshé:wε? 'Falling Belly'

?oyata?ké:a? 'Cherokee Stomp Dance' ('Stomp Dance, Snake Dance'—RE), literally 'cave people, Cherokee'

F. Games and Associated Terminology

A general word for game is **kayε:ta?**. **ta:tiyε?** means 'they are playing, betting'; **tá:yε?** 'he's playing'; **teyéyε?** 'she's playing.'

Names for the Bowl Game were given on p. 31. Terms for winning throws in this game are:

?o:xta? (all six stones identical; wins five bean counters), literally 'planted field'; ?o?káxta:e? 'it came up with all six identical'

?onyo?:ah (all identical but one; wins one bean), literally 'almost wild'

Other terminology relating to the Bowl Game includes:

yesáe?tä:kwas 'she picks out the beans' ('bean watcher'—WNF)

yeka:nya:s 'she pays' ('payer'—WNF)

honótkaeo? 'they're watching' ('referees'—WNF)

honósteistóh (identical with the preceding), literally 'they're managing it'

hí:es 'they (two) collect (the bets)'

(?o)tísaskók 'skunking' (loss of one's turn without having won a single bean)

A similar game is **kaskε?isé:htóh** [*gus-ga-e-sa'-tä*—LHM] 'Deer Buttons' (LHM), 'Buttons, Indian Dice' (RE). The winning throws in this game are:

?o:xta? (all eight dice identical; wins twenty beans if two are playing, five if more than two)

?o:nyáhsa? (all identical but one; wins four beans if two are playing, two if more than two), literally 'squash'

?onyo?:ah (all identical but two; wins two beans if two are playing, one if more than two)

If a player has been eliminated but is able to pay his debt to the winner, he is told **tekhni: ?ehséji:wet** 'you will have two free throws,' literally 'you will hammer twice.' If he is not able to pay his debt, he is told **ska:t ?ehséji:wet** 'you will hammer once.'

The Snowsnake game, as well as the snowsnake itself, is called **ka:wa:sa?** [*ga-wa'-sa*—LHM]. Parts of the snowsnake are:

katkwíä?keh 'tail'

kakóta?keh 'nose' ('head'—ACP)
ka:néko:a? 'lead on the end'

Other associated terms include:

ka?owóko:h 'trough' ('track'—RE)
hatiyéhtáhkwa? 'mouth of the trough' (ACP), literally 'where they strike'
he:otye:s 'he throws, thrower'
ye:wásóhka:tha? 'snowsnake medicine (wax),' literally 'they use it to make the snowsnake slippery'
swa:kam (identical with the preceding; regarded by some as an English word)

The Hoop and Javelin game is called either **kake:ta?** [*gä-geh'-dä*—LHM] or, less commonly **kanó?ka?o:?**. Associated terms are:

ka?hnya? 'stick' ('javelin')
kanó?kä:? 'hoop' (also 'poplar')
?e?níka:a? 'hoop' (another name)

Other Seneca games include:

té:nó?eni:ya:s 'Tug-of-War,' literally 'they pull the pole'
tewá?ä:? 'Lacrosse, lacrosse stick,' literally 'net on it'
yé:hsethwas 'Football,' literally 'they kick'
te:né:hta:s 'Foot Race,' literally 'they run'
te:nó?ataye:nó:s 'Wrestling,' literally 'they grab each other'
te:nóhtahkwayé:? 'Moccasin Game,' literally 'they bet on a shoe'

G. Terminology of the Iroquois League

The Condolence Ceremony is called **?atyä:khósha?ko:wa:h**, literally 'the great feast.' Related terms include:

ka?nikó:eskewéh 'condolence, consolation,' literally 'the mind is raised'
kajistaye? 'council fire,' literally 'the fire is there'
jokté:sko:wa:h 'the great long roots'
?onáhtají?ko:wa:h 'the great black leaves'

The "four cardinal principles of Iroquois policy" (WNF) are:

ske:nó? 'health, peace'
ka?hásteshä? 'strength, civil authority'
káiwi:yo:h 'truth, righteousness'
kayaneshä?ko:wa:h 'the great law, the commonwealth'

Characters in the Deganawida legend include:

tekanowi:tah 'Deganawida'
 hayó:wé:tha? 'Hiawatha'
 thatota:ho? 'Tadodaho'
 jikóhsahse? 'the Peace Queen,' also 'wildecat,' literally 'fat face'

3. Classifications of Nature

A. Numerals

The numerals from one to ten are:

ska:t 'one'	ye:i? 'six'
tekhní:h 'two'	ja:tak 'seven'
sch 'three'	tekyo? 'eight'
ke:ih 'four'	tyohtó:h 'nine'
wis 'five'	washé:h 'ten'

The numerals eleven through nineteen are formed with the addition of *ska:e?*, as follows:

ská:ska:e? 'eleven'
 tekhní:ska:e? 'twelve'
 séska:e? 'thirteen'

The formation of numerals above nineteen is illustrated below:

tewáshe:h 'twenty'
 tewáshe:ská:ska:e? or tewáshe:ska:t 'twenty-one'
 sé niwáshe:h 'thirty'
 ke:i niwáshe:h 'forty'
 ska:t tewé?nya?e:h 'one hundred,' literally 'one strike of the hand'
 ska:t nō?tewé?nya?esháshe:h 'one thousand,' literally 'ten hundreds'

B. Measurements

Time

The hours of the day are referred to as follows:

ska:t jóiista?e:h 'one o'clock,' literally 'one strike'
 tekhní:teyóista?:e:h 'two o'clock'
 sé niyóista?:e:h 'three o'clock'
 ke:i niyóista?:e:h 'four o'clock' (etc.)

References to parts of the day are:

?e:teh 'day, daytime'
teyóhathéh 'it is light'
tawetó:ti? 'daybreak,' literally 'the day opens'
tyohé?óh 'daybreak,' literally 'it has dawned'
tawé?nyaka :e? 'daybreak,' literally 'the hand makes a noise'
setéhjiah 'early in the morning'
we:nishásé:a :neh 'morning, forenoon,' literally 'early in the day'
ha?tewé:nishé:h 'noon, midday'
hekä:hkwa :ah 'afternoon,' literally 'less sun'
weta:jis 'evening,' literally 'the day darkens'
?o?kä:s?ah 'evening,' literally 'partly night'
wa?ó?kä:h 'night'
soeh 'night, nighttime'
ha?téwahs: :thwéh 'midnight'
?oté:nisyo?k 'the end of the day'

Related terms are:

the:te? 'yesterday'
we:nisháte? 'today'
wahs:tate? 'tonight'
?eyo:he?t 'tomorrow'
wa?o:he?t 'the next day'
ska:t ?eyo:ta:? 'one day from now'
tekhni: tayo:ta:? 'two days from now'
se neyo:ta:? 'three days from now'

There are several ways of referring to the days of the week. A set of names used on the Cattaraugus Reservation is:

?awetatókéhtóh 'Sunday'
?o?weté:ta:t 'Monday'
swéta:tih 'Tuesday' or 'any day after Monday'
ha?tewetáeh 'Wednesday'
ha?tewetáe ?eyóhе?tkeh 'Thursday'
wis wató:tha? we:nisháte? 'Friday,' sometimes 'Thursday'
we:ta:k 'Saturday'

On the Tonawanda Reservation the days are simply counted, starting with Monday:

ska:t we:nisháte? 'day number one, Monday'
tekhni: we:nisháte? 'Tuesday' (etc.)

There is a similar usage on the Allegany Reservation, but

we:nishätéhkoh may be substituted for **we:nishäte?**. Other names sometimes heard are:

teyote:nitsiyá?koh 'Sunday,' literally 'the broken day'

weta:k?ah 'Friday,' literally 'almost Saturday'

niyen?któwaes 'Saturday,' literally 'when they wash the room'

There are 12 month or moon names. During the winter, one of them usually does service for two successive moons to make the year come out even. The first moon is correlated with the position of the Pleiades. A list obtained on the Cattaraugus Reservation is:

1. **niskówakhneh** or **niskáwakhneh**
2. **niyo?not?á:h** 'the frogs are almost peeping'
3. **?o?nót?ah** 'the frogs are peeping'
4. **kanó?kat** (referring to hills for corn?)
5. **?oyáikhneh** or **yáikhneh** (referring to the ripening of berries?)
6. **skáiskekhneh** or **háiskekhneh**
7. **skayé:neah** or **hayé:neah**
8. **keté?ókhneh**
9. **ké:ókhneh**
10. **kahsá?khneh** 'when I cough'
11. **jotho:h** 'when it is cold'
12. **nis?ah**

Another list, from the Allegany Reservation, adds **wé:tahkwa?** 'when the blossoms are on' after **kanó?kat** and omits **jotho:h**. Other names are:

wá:kaita:thoh 'the road slopes this way and that' (as the sun melts the snow)

kanähtok?ah 'the end of the leaves'

Words for phases of the moon are:

ka?éhta:? 'new moon,' literally 'fingernail in (the sky)'

we:ní?tase:? 'new moon' (also **sawátähkwa:é?** 'the moon gets on it again')

ha?tewe:ní?taeh 'middle of the moon'

wate:ni?tó?ktha? 'end of the moon'

Words for seasons are:

kékwítekhneh 'spring'

kéhé:neh or **kakéh:te?** 'summer'

koshé:neh or **yoshä:te?** 'winter' (the latter also 'year')

Length

The following words are used in measuring length:

(ska:t) joyóhkä:t '1 inch,' literally 'one thumb'
 (tekhni:) teyóyóhkä:ke:h '2 inches'
 se niyóyóhkä:ke:h '3 inches' (etc.)
 (ska:t) jo?e:no:t '1 yard,' literally 'one pole'
 (tekhni:) teyó?e:nö:ke:h '2 yards'
 se niyó?e:nö:ke:h '3 yards' (etc.)
 (ska:t) jóa?a:t '1 rod, pace'
 (tekhni:) teyó?a:ke:h '2 paces'
 se niyó?a:ke:h '3 paces' (etc.)
 ska:t heyótkathwëh '1 mile,' literally 'as far as can be seen'
 tekhni: heyótkathwëh '2 miles' (etc.)

Volume

Some measures of volume are:

kano:tsi:h 'quart,' literally 'small basketful'
 ska?a:tsi:h 'bushel,' literally 'basketful'

C. Colors

Two verb stems that may be used to refer to specific colors are -kë:et 'be light-colored, white' and -aji:h 'be dark-colored, black':

kakë:et 'it is white'
 kanóhsakë:et 'white house'
 wa:ji:h 'it is black'
 ?óä?taji:h 'black feather'

A number of other words contain the stem -?e:? 'be the color of':

tkwéhtä:?e:? 'red' (origin uncertain)
 ?o?shéä?e:? 'purple, the color of smoke'
 jítkwä:?e:? 'yellow, the color of bile'
 jë:stá?e:? 'black, the color of charcoal'
 ?o?ké:?e:? 'gray, the color of ashes'
 ?oiskwanyé?ta?e:? 'brown, the color of rotten wood'

Other words used to express color are kanáhtaikhë? 'green' and ji:nyóae? 'blue.'

Shades may be indicated by one of the two stems mentioned first above: ?otkwéhtä:ji:h 'dark red.' Approximation to a color may be shown by the diminutive suffix: ?o?ké:?e:?h 'grayish.'

D. Biological Terms

Plants and Animals

Both plants and animals may be classified as either **kanyo:** *'wild'* or **kashe:ne:** *'cultivated, domestic.'*

Roughly according to its size, a wild plant may be one of the following:

?o?éohta? *'weed, herb'*

?oyɔ:wɔ? *'tall weed'*

?oskawaye? *'bush'*

kä:it or **ka:ɔta?** *'tree'*

A grove is **kaha:to:t** and a forest **kaha:ta?**. Further names for animals and plants will be found in 2C (p. 32), 2E (p. 34), and especially 4G (p. 49).

Body Parts

The following are the names of some body parts:

?onó?ε:? *'head'*

?akéke?ä? *'my hair'*

keké?ja?keh *'(on) my forehead'*

keká:?keh *'(on) my eyes'*

?okahkwéohsa? *'eyebrows'*

kekóta?keh *'(on) my nose'*

ká?hta? *'my ear'*

katahoskwá?keh *'(on) my cheeks'*

kehsáka:et *'my mouth'*

keskwä:?keh *'(on) my lips'*

?onó?ja? *'tooth'*

ka?nóhsa?keh *'(on) my tongue'*

kyo?há?keh *'(on) my chin, jaw'*

ke:nyá?sa?keh *'(on) my neck, throat'*

kenyä:?keh *'(on) my neck, collar'*

khnehsá?keh *'(on) my shoulder'*

khnesha? *'my arm'*

khyostä:?keh *'(on) my elbow'*

khneshó?kwa? *'my wrist'*

kes?óhta? *'my hand'*

käkwáhta?keh *'(on) my palm, sole'*

ke?nya? *'my finger'*

kyóhkä:?keh *'(on) my thumb'*

?aké?ehta? *'my fingernail'*

ke?tóhsä?keh *'(on) my chest'*

keswé?nɔ?keh 'on) my back'
 keswa? 'my rib cage'
 ?akhnj?kwa?keh '(on) my breasts, lungs'
 ?oshé:wa? 'belly'
 ?otkwísta? 'stomach'
 ?okso:we? 'intestines'
 ?akéthwehsa? 'my liver'
 ?okáhkwe?nɔ? 'kidney'
 kanä? 'penis'
 ?oyáhk?ta? 'head of the penis'
 ke?hóhsa?keh '(on) my testicles'
 ka:nɛ:ɛ? 'vagina'
 ?o:nɔ?sha? 'buttocks'
 ?o?yáka:et 'anus'
 kejisko?kwá?keh '(on) my hip'
 kahsi:nɔ? 'leg'
 kyahtá?keh '(on) my thigh'
 kɔshá?keh '(on) my knee'
 kejio?kwá?keh '(on) my ankle'
 kahsí?ta? 'my foot'
 khyakwi:yü? 'my toe'

E. Cosmographic Terms

Geological Features

yɔɛjate? 'the earth, land'
 ?onɔ:ta? 'hill'
 yoäkɔ:h 'valley, bottom land'
 ?óehta? 'soil'
 ?o?néhsa? 'sand'
 ka?skwa:a? 'stone'
 kasté:te? 'cliff, rock bank'
 kɛhɔ:te? 'river, stream'
 kanyotae? 'lake'
 kanyoteowanəh 'ocean,' literally 'big lake'

Points of the Compass

?othówe?keh 'north,' literally 'where it is cold'
 tkä:hwitke?S 'east,' literally 'where the sun rises'
 ?onéno?keh 'south,' literally 'where it is warm'; also ?etyék-kwa:h
 or ?etyék-kwa:h
 hekä:hwε?S 'west,' literally 'where the sun sets'

Meteorological Phenomena

kä:ha? 'the wind is blowing'
 ?ohjí:ke? 'it's cloudy'
 ?oste:tyo:h 'it's raining'
 ?osta:a? 'rain'
 ?o?kyo:tyo:h 'it's snowing'
 ?o?kä? 'snow' (in the air)
 ?oni:ya? 'snow' (on the ground)
 ?o?néyosts:tyo:h 'it's hailing'
 ?o?néyosta? 'hail' (also 'hominy grains')
 ?owisy:tyo:h 'it's sleetting'
 ?owi:sä? 'ice' (also 'butter')
 kashat:tye?s 'it's misting'
 ?osha:ta? 'mist, fog'
 ?o?twéniho? 'lightning flashed'
 ?o?káye?kyo:?' lightning struck'
 hatiwenotatyé:s 'thunder'
 ?o?ha:ot 'rainbow'
 ?o?twátyo:yatyé:onyo:?' 'aurora borealis,' literally 'the sky became abnormal'

Astronomical Phenomena

Both the sun and the moon are referred to with the one word kä:hkwa:?, literally 'the sun or moon is in it' (that is, in the sky). Which of the two is meant can be specified by preceding the above word with ?ete:kha:?' diurnal' or sóekha:?' nocturnal.' Names for phases of the moon can be found on p. 39. An eclipse is called ?ekä:hkwa:hts:t? 'the sun or moon will disappear.' A star is ?ojíhs:tta?. Names of particular stars and constellations are: keté:wi:tha? 'morning star,' literally 'it leads the meadow' nyakwai? tethak:swá:ha:?' 'north star' [?], literally 'bear sticking his nose out' nyakwai? hatíshe? 'Ursa Major,' literally 'they're chasing a bear' hatítkwa:tta:?' 'the Pleiades'

4. Material Culture

A. Ceremonial Equipment

Musical Instruments

A general word for an instrument that is used to accompany

singing is *yöténotáhkwa?* 'people use it to sing with.' *yöténotahkwa?shó:sh* (HCC) is specifically plural.

Rattles. The general word for rattle is *kastáwe?sä?* or *kastówe?sä?* It may be qualified in various, not entirely standardized ways to specify a particular type of rattle:

- ?onó:kä :? *kastáwe?sä?* 'horn rattle'
- ?osno? *kastáwe?sä?* 'bark rattle'
- ?o:nyá:sa? *kastáwe?sä?* 'squash or gourd rattle'
- ?o:nyá:hsa? *kastáwe?sä?* (identical with the preceding)
- yí:?tostha? *kastáwe?sä?* (also identical with the two preceding)
- káistatkos *kastáwe?sä?* 'tin rattle'
- ?o:nyó:kwa? *kastáwe?sä?* 'nut rattle' (HCC, p. 287, referring to a coconut rattle)

A rattle made from a turtle is called *ka?no:wa?*. This word may be qualified as:

- kanyáh:té:h* *ka?no:wa?* 'snapping turtle rattle' ('great turtle rattle'—HCC)
- ka?tya:skwa?* or *ka?ja:skwa?* *ka?no:wa?* 'box turtle rattle'
- yóthówisátha?* *ka?no:wa?* (identical with the preceding)

Drums. There are two names in common use for the 'water drum' ('drum, tom-tom'—RE):

- ka?nóhkko:oh*, literally 'covered keg'
- kanó:jo:sh* [*gä-no-jo'-o*—LHM], literally 'covered bucket'

There is no separate designation for the somewhat larger drum ('big water drum'—HCC) used in the *?ohki:we:h* ceremony (p. 33), but it may be distinguished by the addition of *?ohki:we:* before one of the above words. A drumstick is called *ye?nóhkwa?ésthä?*, literally 'people use it for striking the keg.'

Other musical instruments include:

- ka?hnya?* 'stick, club' ('stamping stick, tempo beater'—HCC)
- ka?wásta?* 'stick' (identical with the preceding)
- ?atá?tishä? 'cane'
- ka:nó?skä:?* 'notches' ('rasping sticks'—HCC)
- kashéwé:ta?* 'bells, sleigh bells'
- ká:?ke:ta?* 'flute' ('Indian flute'—HCC)
- ye:o:táwastha?* 'flute' ('white man's flute'—HCC)
- yéo:tastha?* 'flute,' literally 'people use it for blowing'

Other Ceremonial Equipment

kakóhса? 'false-face'
 kajihса? 'husk-face'
 ?oyé?kwa? 'tobacco'
 ?oyé?kwa? :weh 'Indian tobacco' (*Nicotiana rustica*)
 ?oye :e? 'bead, wampum'
 ?otkóä? or ?otkóä? 'wampum string'
 kaswéhta? 'wampum belt'
 kaji:sta? 'wampum,' literally 'ember, light'
 kajistakwéni:yo? 'the main wampum,' specifically that kept at Tonawanda to validate the Handsome Lake religion
 kaneshatiyotáhkwa? 'tally stick' with attached wampum ('invitation wampum'—RE), literally 'used for extending the arm'
 ka:nó?skeot? (identical with the preceding), literally 'notches on it'
 kané?ä? 'Eagle Dance fan, feather stick'
 ka:yá?ehta? 'Eagle Dance pole'
 yene?kwá? :estha? ka?hnya? 'Eagle Dance striking stick'
 kanóhse :s 'longhouse' (kanóhseskeh 'at the longhouse')
 yekhónya?tha? 'cookhouse,' literally 'they use it for making food'
 kají?ka :ye :s 'bench,' literally 'long chair'

B. Clothing and Costume Components

?asyónyashä? 'clothing'
 ?oswa:te:h 'woman's costume'
 kəhikwa:a? 'hat'
 wá?sha? 'cap'
 kasto:wä? [gus-to'-weh—LHM] 'headdress'
 kayahtowé?shä? 'pants'
 ka?kha:a? [gä-ka'-ah—LHM] 'skirt'
 káishä? [gise'-ha—LHM] 'leggings'
 ?atyä?tawí?shä? [ah-de-a-dä-we-sä—LHM] 'overdress, smock'
 ka:wáhashä? 'belt' (worn around waist)
 teyøthwahásthä? (identical with the preceding)
 kakéhta? [gü-geh'-tü—LHM] 'belt' (worn over shoulder and around waist)
 ?atotä.? 'shoulder belt, suspenders'
 kaké?ta? (worn on upper part of leg, with high boots attached to it)
 tewatsihásy? :? 'garters'
 kayó:wah 'moccasin'

?ahtáhkwa? 'shoe'

?ahtáhkwa? : weh [ah-tä-quä-o'-weh—LHM] 'native shoe, moccasin'

yeneshahástha? [yeu-nis-hä-hos-ta—LHM] 'arm band'

yeneshó?kwáhastha? [yen-nis-ho-quä-hos-tä — LHM] 'wrist band'

yotsinohóstha? [yen-che-no-hos-ta-tä—LHM] 'leg band'

?otsinonóhkä :? (identical with the preceding)

?a?wáshä :? [ah-was-ha—LHM] 'earring'

?e?nyáhashä? [ah-ne-a-hus-ha—LHM] 'finger ring'

yeníhyastha? 'necklace'

yóthwistaniyó:táhkwa? [out-wis-tä-ne-un-dä-quä—LHM] 'silver beads, pendants'

?e:nyáskä :? [an-ne-äś-ga—LHM] 'brooch'

?o?ówa?ah (a brooch shape), literally 'like an owl'

teyóewé :ke:h (another brooch shape), literally 'two wires'

C. Basketry

Materials and Components

kanyoh 'white ash' (*Fraxinus americana*)

yé:takwæ:sos 'black ash' (*Fraxinus nigra*)

kaká:ta? 'white oak' (*Quercus alba*)

kóhso :? 'red maple, soft maple' (*Acer rubrum*)

?ononoka:a? 'hickory' (*Carya ovata*)

jistaké :? (identical with the preceding)

jokä :ka:s (identical with the two preceding)

?o :wé?kä :? 'splint, wood as a material'

?ohsóhkwa? 'paint, dye'

ke:tö :we? 'bottom, base'

teke:towé?se :? 'double bottom'

yóthwatasétha? literally 'people use it to go around' ('flexible with, weft element'—ML)

teyó?enó:hkwa? literally 'people use it for putting the stick on' ('inner rim splint'—ML)

?aste:kha :? 'outer part' ('outer rim splint'—ML)

?o?noweony? 'flat curls,' literally 'bugs (?) in it'

?ojí?syoyo:t? 'peaked curls,' literally 'standing curls'

Techniques

yé:wé?ke :onih 'they are making splints'

ye:we?kä:tokéstha? 'they are straightening out the splints' ('trimming'—ML)

yo:wé:kä:ke:tas 'they are scraping the splints'
 təhsata?énəe? 'you will hem the top,' literally 'put on the stick'
 tewa?énó:čk 'it will be hemmed'

Types

ka?áshä? [gase-ha—LHM] 'basket'
 yä:hkwa? 'container'
 yøtenɔ:shä:hkwa? 'food basket'
 ye?nístä:hkwa? 'corn basket'
 yenorɔ:tä:hkwa? 'potato basket'
 yestakwä:tahkwa? 'dirty clothes basket, hamper'
 yenɔhtä:hkwa? 'comb basket'
 ye?nikhoshä:hkwa? 'sewing basket'
 yøtkéhtastha? 'pack basket'
 ye?nistanéhkwicktha?, literally 'they use it for bringing in the corn'
 yøtashe?nɔtahkwa? 'basket attached at the waist for planting or berry picking,' literally 'they put a lump on them'
 yekaehtowä:?tha? 'corn washing basket, hulling basket'
 yewɔ:ktha? 'sifter, sieve'
 yo?ké:wɔ:ktha? 'ash sifter'
 ?o?nýeyostowanes 'hominy sifter,' literally 'big grains'
 ?onɔ:shä? 'small corn husk basket'
 kashé:ta? [gos-ha'-dü—LHM] 'bottle, jug'
 yejikhe?tä:hkwa? 'salt container, salt bottle'
 watáshaene? 'drop handle basket'
 teka?ashä:čh 'cross basket'

Other Basketry Terms

kasha:a? 'halter, strap, burden strap'
 kanóhsɔta:a? (identical with the preceding)
 ye?ásyohka:tha? 'basket medicine, agrimony' (*Agrimonia gryposepala*), literally 'they sprinkle baskets with it'
 ha?no:wa? óishä? 'pitcher plant' (*Sarracenia purpurea*), literally 'turtle's leggings' (trapped water used as basket medicine)

D. Agricultural and Cooking Implements

?ato:ke? 'ax' (cf. ?a?skwíhsa? p. 48)
 ye:htakahathwátha? 'plow,' literally 'they use it to turn over the soil'
 yakókwatha? 'digging tool'

káohjishä? 'hoe'
 yeyéthwatha? 'planting tool'
 yetáhkwa? '(corn) crib,' literally 'they put things in it'
 yenowiyá?ktha? 'husking pin'
 ka?nékahta? [gä-ne'-gä-ta—LHM] 'mortar'
 hetke:kha :? 'pestle,' literally 'upper part'
 yethé?tahkwa? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they use
 it for pounding'
 yóteka?táhkwa? 'fire-making tool'
 ?oksa? 'dish'
 kajé? [ga-jih—LHM] 'bowl'
 ka:ow? 'tray' (also 'boat')
 kanó?ja? 'kettle, pot'
 kanó?jowa:néh 'big kettle'
 kanó?ja? :weh 'old-fashioned Indian kettle'
 yeshe?onyá?tha? 'dough-making bowl'
 ?atókwa?shä? 'spoon, ladle'
 ?atókwa?syowaneh 'big spoon'
 katkónya?shä? [got'-go-ne-os-ha'—LHM] 'ladle, paddle, stirring
 implement'
 yetkónya?tha? (identical with the preceding)
 katkónya?syowaneh 'big ladle'
 nikatkónya?shæ?á :h 'small ladle'
 kahsikwá:? 'fork'
 kakánya?shä? 'knife'

E. Weapons

?a?skwíhsa? 'ax, tomahawk'
 ?o?skwíhsa:t [o-sque'-sont—LHM; identical with the preceding]
 kají:wa? [gä-je'-wä—LHM] 'hammer, war club'
 kano?kéotashä? [ga-ne-u'-ga-o-dus-ha—LHM] 'horn war club'
 ka?no? [gä'-no—LHM] 'arrow'
 wa?e:no? [wä-a'-no—LHM] 'bow' (also 'pole, stick')
 ka?ta:shä? [gä-dä-s-ha—LHM] 'quiver, sheaf'

F. Other Artifacts

ke:wé:? 'wire, needle, nail'
 tewatyawé:kótha? 'needle'
 ye:wé:tahkwa? [ya-wa-o-dä-quä—LHM] 'needle book'
 yé:wéotahkwa? [yä-wä-o-dä-quä—LHM] 'pincushion'

?ojótkä :? 'hook, hanger'
 kastó?shä? 'fishhook'
 yɔ?káhtahkwa? 'punch'
 teyɔ?istáhkwa? 'drill'
 teyekësyɔ?tha? 'scraper'
 yjhkeokwátha? [uh'-ga-o-gwät'-hä—LHM] 'chisel,' literally
 'they use it to scatter chips'
 yɔtkétatha? '(back) scratcher'
 yejist:táhkwa? 'lamp'
 teyestä :the?táhkwa? 'polish'
 kayá?ta? 'doll'
 ?ashókwahta? [ah-so-quä'-tä—LHM] 'pipe'
 teye:wë?keotáhkwa? 'snowshoe, ski,' literally 'they use the wood
 for standing upright'
 ye?nikɔhsákehta:stha? 'frame for carrying a large object on
 one's back'
 ?atáthkwa? [ah-dä'-dä-quä—LHM] 'saddle,' literally 'used for
 getting on'
 ?atyá?tota:a? (identical with the preceding), literally 'it's put
 over its body'
 yoke:shä? or yɔke:shä? [yun-ga'-sa—LHM] 'pocket'
 katkwé?ta? [got-kwen-dä—LHM] 'pocketbook'
 yeý?kwata:hkwa? 'tobacco pouch'
 káshkä :? 'rope'
 ka:wáhashä? [gä-swä-hos-hä [?—LHM] 'band'
 kajihsa? 'husk mat' (also 'husk-face'; cf. p. 45)
 keska:a? 'sleeping mat'
 y:tyä:téhtä:hkwa? 'mattress,' literally 'bag for laying out flat'
 ?i:yo:s 'blanket'
 ka:nyá?kha? 'quilt,' literally 'put together piece by piece'
 kakó?sä? 'pillow'
 ka:ɔyo:t 'swing, hammock, cradle,' literally 'attached boat'
 kaɔwɔni:yɔ:t (identical with the preceding), literally 'hanging
 boat'
 ka:ɔwɔ? 'boat' (also 'tray'; cf. p. 48)

G. Foods

The following are general terms referring to food:

kakhwa? 'food'

tyɔhéhkɔh [de-o-ha'-ko—LHM] 'our sustenance, our life sup-
 porters' ('the vegetables'—RE), literally 'what we live on'
 (referring to corn, beans, and squash)

Corn (*Zea mays*)

The generic word for corn is **?oné?**, which may also refer to the kernel. Other parts of the corn plant are:

?oeä? 'cornstalk'

?oji?jo:t 'tassle,' literally 'standing tassle'

?oji?jo:a? (identical with the preceding), literally 'tassle on the end'

?okyo:t 'corn silk' (protruding from husk)

?okä?äh 'corn silk' (inside husk)

?ojówəhsa? 'corn leaf'

?o:wé?ta? 'ear with husk'

?o:nísta? 'ear without husk but with kernels'

?onóhkwa?e? or **?onóhkwe?e?** 'ear without kernels, corncob'

?ono:nya? 'husk'

?o:ate? 'row of kernels' (also 'road')

?okóji?ta? 'corn pollen' (ACP)

?okáehta? 'hull'

The following varieties of corn are named (botanical classifications are from ACP):

?oné:ke:et [*o-na-o'-ga-ant*—LHM] 'white corn' ('Tuscarora or squaw corn'—ACP; *Zea mays amylacea* 'soft corn')

héhko:wa:h [*ha-go'-wä*—LHM] 'calico or hominy corn' (*Zea mays indurata* 'flint corn')

?one:hsáhkwa? or **?one:hsóhkwa?** 'popcorn' (*Zea mays everta* *wahtatjkwas* (identical with the preceding), literally 'it bursts')

?oné?o:weh 'old-fashioned or native corn' ('sacred corn'—ACP; *Zea mays tunicata* 'pod corn')

?oné:oji? 'black or dark corn' (variety uncertain)

Aside from specific food preparations, corn may be found in the following conditions:

?osä?ah 'green corn'

?oji:kwes 'corn smut' (also 'venereal disease')

?otki? oné? 'foul or decayed corn'

?oné:okwe:koh 'whole corn'

?o:néyosta? 'cracked corn, hominy grains'

?osté:sä? 'braided corn'

The following terms are related to the growing and initial preparation of corn:

kané:okwé? 'seed corn'

?ostísta:ne? (*Hystrix patula*) (FWW), a corn medicine, 'bottle-brush grass'

kahsá?ke:ta? (*Phragmites communis*) (FWW), another corn medicine, 'common reed'

hati?nisté:es 'they are gathering, picking corn'

hatinowi:ya?s 'they are husking corn'

hatinonyo:tha? 'they are pulling back the husk' (for braiding)

?on:nyo:t 'the husk is pulled back'

hatisté?syo:nih 'they are braiding corn'

hatikáehtawa:s 'they are winnowing it,' literally 'sifting the hulls'

Corn preparations have the following names:

?onó:hkwa? '(hulled) corn soup'

?oné?:ta? 'burnt or roasted corn soup'

?ok:sä? 'baked corn'

?okosäki? 'baked corn soup'

kakósäki?:ta?: 'fried baked corn'

?o?nýeyosta:ki? 'cracked corn soup' ('corn soup liquor, samp')—ACP)

?oshowé?: 'corn pudding' (ACP), 'parched corn' (MRH), 'false-face mush' (RE)

?ojískwa? or ?oji:skwa? 'mush, pudding'

?oshowé?: ?ojískwa? 'parched corn mush' (MRH)

kakóhsa? ?ojískwa? 'false-face mush' (cf. ?oshowé?:)

kajískwa?: ?ojískwa? 'ball players' mush'

?on:tä?: 'hominy'

?ohó:sta? 'dumpling'

?o?nistaká?:h 'good tasting corn' ('boiled green corn')—ACP)

?onj?khwishä? 'boiled and sweetened corn'

?onyáhji?:ta? 'corn cooked in husk, tamale'

ka?niste?:ta?: 'corn roasted on open fire'

?ojé?:ta? (identical with the preceding)

waté?:sko:tak 'it's been baked'

waté?:je?:tak (identical with the preceding)

?á:hkwa? 'bread'

ká:hkó:tak 'baked bread'

ká:hkok 'boiled bread'

kakaehtéhta? or kakaehtéht:h 'corn bread'

ka:hwakí?:ta?: 'ghost bread,' literally 'fried bread'

kaneóthé:t:h 'early bread,' literally 'pounded corn'

?othé?shä? 'flour'

?oné?: ?o:nj? 'corn oil'

Beans

The generic word for 'bean' is **?osáe?ta?** [*o-si-dä*—LHM]. Most or all belong to the genus *Phaseolus*, but they have not been further identified. Names for kinds of beans are:

ha:yok 'Roman or cockleberry bean' (RE)

teká:ka:ha:t, literally 'it lies with legs outspread'

?awé:ta:koh literally 'deep-colored flower' ('purple kidney'—ACP)

?osáe?take:et 'white bean'

?otikohsó:a?, literally 'their heads are on the end of a stick'

?óeä?ke:kha:? 'cornstalk variety'

káiské?se:? 'sparrow'

tyothowetoh 'hummingbird'

?otkówó?sa:a? 'string bean'

Other classifications of beans are:

yó?énotha? 'pole bean,' literally 'they set up a pole'

(cf. **yó?énotáhkwa?** 'bean pole,' literally 'they use it for setting up a pole')

?onósä?ah 'soft or young beans'

Bean preparations are:

?osáe?ta:ki? 'bean soup'

?ojískwa? 'mush,' made from beans as well as corn

Squash

The generic term for *Cucurbitaceae* is **?o:nyóhsa?**. The following kinds are distinguished:

?o:nyá?sa? 'crookneck squash,' literally 'neck'

?o:nyóhsa?o:weh 'scalloped squash,' literally 'native or Indian squash'

?oshé?to:t 'Hubbard squash,' literally 'navel'

?o:yáka:et [*o-gä-gä-ind*—LHM (?)] 'gray squash' (LHM), literally 'anus'

?o:nyóskwä:et 'cucumber'

?o:nyóhsowa:néh 'pumpkin,' literally 'big squash'

?o:nyóhsatkos 'watermelon' (*Citrullus vulgaris*), literally 'raw squash'

wa:ya:is 'muskmelon' (*Cucumis melo*), literally 'the fruit ripens'

Another related term is **?o?óhsa?** 'vine.' Squash preparations are:

ka:nyóhsok 'boiled squash'
waté:nyóhsó:tak 'baked squash'

Other Cultivated Plants

?oktéä? 'carrot' (*Daucus carota*), 'beet' (*Beta vulgaris*), 'turnip' (*Brassica rapa*), literally 'root'
?onóno?ta? 'potato'
?o?nóhsa? 'onion' (*Allium sp.*)
?aweto?ké:a? 'pea' (*Pisum sp.*)

Fruits

The generic term for fruit or berry is **?oji:ya?** or, less commonly, **?o:ya?**. Kinds of fruits are:

?o:ya:ji? 'blueberry' ('huckleberry' — RE) (*Vaccinium sp.*), literally 'dark berry'
kehtá?ke:ea? 'high bush blueberry' (*Vaccinium sp.*)
nohkvaká?ni? 'low bush blueberry' (*Vaccinium sp.*)
(?o)jistötá?shä? 'strawberry' (*Fragaria sp.*) literally 'embers on it'
shés?a:h 'small wild strawberry' (*Fragaria sp.*)
takwá?tä:ne? 'raspberry' (*Rubus sp.*)
thóta?ktö? 'black raspberry' (*Rubus occidentalis*), literally 'bent stem'
?otkä:shä? 'blackberry' (*Rubus sp.*)
?onö:shä? 'thimbleberry' (*Rubus sp.*)
jo?ä:ka? wa:ya:s 'gooseberry' (*Ribes sp.*), literally 'raccoon eats the berries'
ka?néhsa? 'nannyberry' (*Viburnum lentago*)
?osháista? wa:ya:s 'partridgeberry' (*Mitchella repens*), literally 'snake eats the berries'
?e:i? 'wild cherry' (*Prunus serotina*)
kanöjóhkwané? 'fire cherry' (*Prunus pennsylvanica*)
teyakonyá?thä?:s 'chokecherry' (*Prunus virginiana*), literally 'it chokes people'
ké:eh 'plum' (*Prunus sp.*)
kanya?ó:ya? 'apple' (*Pyrus sp.*)
jóikto:wa? 'wild crab apple,' literally 'great thorn'
káehtä:ea? 'peach' (*Prunus persica*), literally 'fuzz on it'

A fruit preparation is **?o:ya:ki?** 'berry water,' used for ceremonial purposes.

Nuts

The word for 'nut' is **?o:nyó?kwa?**. Kinds of nuts are:

- jo:nyó?kwe:s** 'butternut' (*Juglans cinerea*), literally 'long nut'
- jo:nyó?kwa:k** 'black walnut' (*Juglans nigra*), literally 'let it eat the nut'
- ?on:noka:a?**, **jistaké:ε?**, **jokä:ka:s** 'hickory' (*Carya ovata*; cf. p. 46)
- ?o:nyó?kwajiwakeh** 'bitter nut (hickory),' (*Carya cordiformis*)
- ?o:nyé?sta?** 'chestnut' (*Castanea dentata*)
- ?ohsówi?shä?** 'hazelnut' (*Corylus sp.*)
- ?oské?ε?** 'beechnut' (*Fagus grandifolia*)
- ?oko:wä?** 'acorn' (*Quercus sp.*)

Other Plant Foods

- ?o:nyó?kwi?sä?** 'grape' (*Vitis sp.*)
- ?on:skä?** 'milkweed' (*Asclepias sp.*)
- ?otkó?ta?** 'sumac' (*Rhus sp.*)

Meat

The word for 'meat' is **?o?wá:?**. Other terms are:

- ?o?wá:se:?** 'fresh meat'
- ?oyé?kwä:ikoh** 'smoked (meat)'
- ?ojíkhe?ta:ε?** 'salted (meat)'
- ?ohjí?ä:?** 'fried meat'
- ?o:nɔ?** 'fat, grease, lard'

Mammals

- neoke?** 'deer' (*Odocoileus virginianus*)
- nyakwai?** 'bear' (*Ursus americanus*)
- nökanyá?koh** 'beaver' (*Castor canadensis*), literally 'twig cutter'
- se:nɔ:h** 'skunk' (*Mephitis mephitis*)
- théhto:?** 'woodchuck' (*Marmota monax*)
- jinotaka?** 'muskrat' (*Ondatra zibethica*)
- jíotá:ka?** 'mink' (*Mustela vison*)
- jo:ä:ka?** 'raccoon' (*Procyon lotor*)
- kwa:yɔ:?** 'rabbit' (*Sylvilagus floridanus*)
- thötayé:t** 'hare' (*Lepus americanus*)
- jokta:kɔ?** 'gray or black squirrel' (*Sciurus carolinensis*)

joni:skyɔ:t 'red squirrel' (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*)
 tha:wa:sɔ:t 'flying squirrel' (*Glaucomys sp.*)
 kiskwi:s 'pig' (*Sus scrofa*)
 tyó:skwaɔ:t 'cow' (*Bos taurus*)
 ji:yäh 'dog' (*Canis familiaris*)

Birds

A 'bird' is called ji:té?ɔ:?. Among the edible birds are:

so:wäk 'duck'
 hɔ:ka:k 'goose'
 ?o?o:wa:?' 'owl'
 johkwé?eani? 'ruffed grouse' (*Bonasa umbellus*)
 kóhkwi? 'quail'
 nó?jahkwé? 'woodcock, snipe'
 jako:ki:h 'blackbird'
 tistis 'woodpecker'
 tyó:yaik 'robin' (*Turdus migratorius*)
 tekáyahtowanes 'meadowlark' (*Sturnella magna*), literally 'big
 thighs'
 jä:hko:wa:?' 'pigeon,' literally 'great bread' (evidently because
 of the shape of its tail)
 ?o?só:ct 'turkey' (*Meleagris gallopavo*), literally 'pine on it'
 takä:?e:?' 'chicken' (*Gallus gallus*)

Fish

The word for 'fish' is kε:joh. Among the edible fish are:

tya:we:h 'trout'
 kashésta? 'sturgeon' (*Acipenser sp.*)
 kaho:skwa:h 'dace'
 jotä:ts? 'bass'
 joka:tke? 'pike' (*Esox sp.*)
 katke:shä? (identical with the preceding), literally 'handle' (as
 an ax handle)
 jikóhse:s 'great northern pike' (*Esox lucius*), or 'pickerel'
 (*Esox sp.*), literally 'long face'
 káisehta? 'hammerhead' (*Hypentelium nigricans*)

Other Animal Foods

?oko:sta? 'clam, oyster'
 ?onɔ:hsakéhte? 'snail,' literally 'house on its back'
 sko?äk 'frog'
 ha?no:wa:h 'turtle'
 kanyáhte:h 'snapping turtle' (*Chelydra serpentina*)

?o:jí?ehta? 'crayfish, crab, lobster'
 kané:itha? 'locust, cicada'
 ?o?hóhsa? 'egg'
 ?onó?kwa? 'milk'
 ?owi:sä? 'butter' (also 'ice')

Other Foods

?owä:ño? 'maple sugar, sugar, candy'
 kä:ño:nih 'honey'
 ?oshésta? 'syrup, corn syrup'
 ?ojíkhe?ta? 'salt'
 teyósae?t 'black) pepper'
 ?onáhsa? 'fungus'
 tewátye?kweokwas 'puffball' (*Calvatia gigantea*), literally
 'smoke scatters'
 ?atéono:shä? 'mushroom,' literally 'umbrella'

5. Names of People and Places

A. Races and Tribes

Indians are called ?ókwé?o:weh, literally 'real, genuine, native people.' A white man is ha:nyó?o:h, in the plural hatí:nyó?o:h. The Iroquois are hotíno:hso:ni:h, literally 'house builders.' Names for Iroquois tribes are:

(?o)nó:to:wá?ka:? 'Seneca,' literally 'people of the big hill'
 kayókwe:ono? 'Cayuga'
 ?onóta?ke:ka:? 'Onondaga,' literally 'people on the hill'
 néyotka:? 'Oneida,' literally 'people of the standing rock'
 kanyé?ke:ono? 'Mohawk,' literally 'people of the flint'
 táske:owé? 'Tuscarora'

B. Reservations

tyonóhsate:keh 'Cornplanter,' literally 'burned house'
 ?ohi:yo? 'Allegany,' literally 'beautiful river'
 ka?tä:késke:?: 'Cattaraugus,' literally 'formerly the chimney
 (clay ?) smelled'
 tha:nów:te? 'Tonawanda,' literally 'his rapids are there'
 swe:ke? 'Grand River (Six Nations),' also 'Canada'; swéké:ono?
 'person from Grand River or Canada'
 taskéowé?keh 'Tuscarora'
 ?onóta?keh 'Onondaga,' literally 'on the hill'

kanəktiyó?keh (identical with the preceding), literally 'at the good place'

kanyé?keh (any Mohawk reservation)

C. Longhouses

On the Allegany Reservation

tyo:nekano:h 'Coldspring,' literally 'cold water'

tetyóteha?:ktɔ:h 'Horseshoe' (extinct), literally 'bent back upon itself, horseshoe curve'

On the Cattaraugus Reservation

tkanɔtase:? 'Newtown,' literally 'new town'

?o?sóäkɔ:h 'Pinewoods' (extinct), literally 'in the pines'

skɛhɔ:tih 'Indian Hill' (extinct), literally 'beyond the creek'

te:notye?kwā:?hɔ:t 'Sandy's Road' (extinct), literally 'their smokes are joined together' (said to have been called this because it was an amalgamation of two even older longhouses)

ta?tewahké:ɔtkeh 'Cayuga Street' (extinct), literally 'without eaves'

On the Tonawanda Reservation

kanɔtakɔ:h, literally 'in the town'

?o?sóäkɔ:h 'Sand Hill' (extinct), literally 'in the pines'

D. Important Cities and Towns

tósyo:we:h or **tetyó:syo:ke:h** 'Buffalo'

ska:néhtatih 'Albany,' literally 'beyond the plateau' (or 'pine')

tyo:ɔkot or **heyó:ɔkeh** 'Akron, N. Y.'

jokɔ:wɔtih 'Gowanda,' literally 'beyond the ridge'

tyoháte?syo? or **tyɔ:teoke?** 'Pittsburgh'

ka:nəwɔkɔ:h 'Warren, Pa.,' literally 'in the rapids'

tkanɔtayé?ko:wa:h 'Philadelphia,' literally 'big town there'

E. Important Individuals

kayéthwahkeh 'Cornplanter,' literally 'where it is planted' (?)

shakóye:wa:tha? 'Red Jacket,' literally 'he makes them look for it in vain'

thé:wo:nya?s 'Governor Blacksnake,' literally 'he breaks wire, nails'

kayáhsota? 'Kyashota,' literally 'it stands up a cross'

shosheowa:? [sose-ha'-wä—LHM] 'Great Burden Strap'

6. Supernatural Beings and Objects

The Supreme Being and his opposite number are referred to with the following words:

hotyε:nó?kta?ɔh 'the Creator,' literally 'he has created it'; also
hotyε:nó?kta?ɔ hé ty?he? 'he has created our lives'
ha?níkɔ:iyo:h (identical with the preceding), literally 'his mind is good'
hawenι:yo? 'God' (the Christian term), literally 'his word is good' or possibly 'he is free'
ha?níkɔ:etke? 'the Devil,' literally 'his mind is evil'
shakoewátha? (identical with the preceding), literally 'he punishes people'
haníshe:onɔ? 'the Devil' (the Christian term), literally 'pit dweller'

Beings and objects frequently referred to in the calendrical ceremonies are:

ke:i niənɔti:h 'the Four Beings' ('Messengers, Angels')
hatiyo?ke:onɔ? (identical with the preceding), literally 'sky dwellers'
?otá?eooh (the mythical source of the wind), literally 'it's covered by a veil'
hatiwenotatyε? 'the Thunderers,' literally 'they are spreading the word'
hi?no? [*he'-no*—LHM] 'the Thunderer'

Supernatural beings associated with the noncalendrical medicine ceremonies include:

jókā:ɔ? or **jo?kā:ɔ?** 'little people, pygmies, dwarfs, elves'
shakotyowéhko:wa:h (the false-face prototype), literally 'their great defender' (?)
?oshata?ké:a? 'Dew Eagle' (WNF), literally 'mist dweller'

Other mythological beings are:

hatho? 'Jack Frost' (RE), 'Frost God' (ACP)
hoske?ekéhtako:wa:h 'God of War' (ACP), literally 'great warrior'
jáenəsko:wa:h 'Blue Lizard' (ACP)
jiske:h 'skeleton, ghost'
jotéhkwatɔh 'Great Horned Serpent' (ACP)
káhkako:wa:h 'Giant Raven' (WNF)
kanó?kwe:s 'Big Breast'
kasháistowanəh 'Big Snake' ('Horned Snake'—ACP)

ká:syɔ:tye:tha? 'Fire Beast' (ACP), also 'lion'
 kε:nɔ:skwa? 'Stone Giant,' literally 'it used to eat skin (or leather)'
nɔkanyá?koh 'White Beaver' (ACP), literally 'beaver'
nyá?kwaehē:h or **nyá?kwaehēko:wa:h** 'Great Bear' (Great Naked Bear)—ACP
shakowe:nóa? 'Tide Spirit' (ACP), literally 'he ferries people'
shako?tatáhkwas 'He-Who-Eats-Inwards' (ACP), literally, 'he takes out people's feces'
shɔ:towähko:wa:h 'Blue Panther' (ACP)
takwáno?e:yet 'Wind Spirit' (ACP), 'Flying Head' (RE), literally 'hit us with a head!'
tá:tahwat or **tá:tahkwat** 'White Beaver' (ACP)
teotya?tyá?koh 'Divided Body (Hail Spirit)' (ACP), literally 'his body is cut in two'
tetyoswinéhtoh 'Spring God' (ACP), literally 'it has thawed'
tewathyawó:?s (?) 'Exploding Wren' (ACP)
tháyatkwā:i? (another mythical animal)
tó:nɔ?ka:es 'Horned Snake' (ACP), literally 'he has long horns'
?o?nɛ:yo:t 'Sharp-Legs' (ACP)
?o?nówatko? 'Corn-Bug' (ACP), literally 'bug with evil power'
?o?nya:thε:h 'Little Dry Hand' (ACP), literally 'dry hand'
?ɔ:i? (a mythical flying snake)

Power or strength, whether natural or supernatural, is **ka?hásteshä?**. Evil power is **?otkɔ?**, and a witch is **hotkɔ?** if a man, **kotkɔ?** if a woman. **kaháih**, translated 'Will-of-the-Wisp' by ACP, refers to magical transformation, generally for an evil purpose.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations were used in the glossary to identify terminology associated with a particular source:

ACP	Arthur C. Parker
FWW	Frederick W. Waugh
HCC	Harold C. Conklin and William C. Sturtevant
LHM	Lewis H. Morgan
ML	Marjorie Lismer
MRH	Mark R. Harrington
RE	Reservation English
WNF	William N. Fenton

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A complete list of publications in which Seneca terms are included would occupy an unwarranted amount of space here; the reader is best referred to the Murdock bibliography cited below. The works which follow were found to be of particular usefulness in the preparation of the glossary.

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Before the lapse of many years, the remnant of the Indian nations which now inhabit the state will experience the fate of all sublunary things. . . . The natural history of the man of America, . . . may still be obtained to a considerable extent; his language may be put on record, and his traditions may be perpetuated. De Witt Clinton, Memorial to the State Legislature, 1814.

